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# Social Class and Religiosity: A Decriptive Study of Two Hundred and Five Adult White Catholics from Three Socio-Economically Different Parishes

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SOCIAL CLASS AND RELIGIOSITY: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY  
OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIVE ADULT WHITE CATHOLICS  
FROM THREE SOCIO-ECONOMICALLY  
DIFFERENT PARISHES

Fr. Vincent M. Concessao

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment  
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Vincent M. Concessao

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Research Problem

Religion is a universal phenomenon. As a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things and uniting into one single moral community all those who adhere to them,<sup>1</sup> it has existed, until modern times, in every human society of which we have any record, including those whose remains have been recently discovered and interpreted by archaeologists. In fact, in traditional societies it has been one of the most important institutional structures making-up the total social system.

The universal existence of religion points to a basic need in man, and therefore in society, for what Talcott Parson termed a "transcendental reference" for something "beyond" the empirical. Max Weber saw religion as concerned with the "problem of meaning". Man requires answers to questions regarding human destiny: the demands of morality and discipline, and the evils of injustice, suffering, and death. In situations of crisis, he needs not only emotional adjustment, but also cognitive assurance. On the basis of a comparative study of world religions, Weber showed that they represented the working out of

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<sup>1</sup> Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Trans. by J. W. Swain (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press & Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1948), p. 47.

different rationally integrated solutions to these problems.<sup>2</sup>

The so-called functional theory in sociology explains the basic human need for religion as a result of three fundamental characteristics of man's existence: contingency, powerlessness, and scarcity. Contingency, or the "uncertainty context", refers to the fact that all human ventures no matter how meticulously planned and efficiently executed are liable to failure and disappointment. Powerlessness, or the "impossibility context", refers to the fact of the discrepancy that exists between man's desires or expectations and their actual realization. Scarcity refers to the differential distribution of the goods and rewards in society, and the relative deprivation derived therefrom. Writes Professor O'Dea:

As inherent characteristics of the human condition, contingency, and powerlessness bring man face to face in situations in which established techniques and mundane social prescriptions display a total insufficiency for providing mechanisms for adjustment. They confront men with "breaking points" in the socially structured round of daily behavior. As "breaking beyond" ordinary experience, they raise questions which can find an answer only in some kind of "beyond" itself.<sup>3</sup>

However, the functions of religion are not restricted to the above situations. In the view of the functional theory, besides consoling the individual in disappointment and supporting him in uncertainty, religion also identifies him with his group, attaches him to society's goals, enhances his morale, and in the flux and change of history provides him with elements of firmer identity through a transcendental relationship to the Immutable.

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<sup>2</sup> Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, Trans. by Ephraim Fischhoff, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. XLV-XLIV.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas F. O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 5.



Religion also fulfills certain functions with regard to society.

It operates to reinforce its unity and stability by supporting social control, enhancing established values and goals and providing the mechanisms for overcoming guilt and alienation. Sociologists, therefore, list religion among the basic societal institutions, those requirements, namely, that are necessary for the functioning and continued existence of any society.

Religion may also perform a prophetic role and be a powerful unsettling or even disruptive influence in any particular society. Does this mean that religion can also be dysfunctional for the society? In this particular regard, i.e., that of performing a prophetic role, it need not be and generally is not so, except in the short-run. What is considered disruptive, and therefore dysfunctional in the short-run, may and often does turn out to be creative and therefore functional for the society in the long-run. This is not to say, however, that religion can never be dysfunctional. It can be so in a variety of ways. But since this aspect of religion does not directly pertain to our discussion, we will not go into it here.

The emphasis on the basic human need for religion should not in any way give the impression that this need is uniform in all men, or that it manifests itself in identically the same fashion, or that it can be satisfied by the same type of mechanisms. It differs from individual to individual depending on his or her personality system, both in terms of nature and intensity and in terms of the "fulfillment-mechanism" it may call for.<sup>4</sup> But, individuals are not isolated beings. They exist in socially structured situations. They interact with each other in terms of expectations based on shared values and beliefs

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<sup>4</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Individual and His Religion (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1967), pp. 3-20.

which leave their traces on the individual personality systems. Hence it would not be wide-of-mark to presume common religious needs peculiar to the members of a group, calling for specific types of institutions and activities for their fulfillment. Compatibility of the non-religious aspects of the life of the group with religious beliefs and practices, and the relevance of the latter to the secular aspects of life, are of crucial importance.

Max Weber, a diligent student of religion, gives support to the above statement. He studied Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism and came to this conclusion: there is a clear and observable relationship between the social position and the propensity to accept different religious world-views. The relationship, however, was far from implying any uniform determinism. On the other hand, he recognized a "highly chequered diversification." Nonetheless, there stood out certain features peculiar to different classes. Thus, for instance, he found that the lower-middle class--artisans and small tradesmen--showed a definite tendency towards a congregational religion. Involved in a way of life based on a rational and economic foundation, and accustomed to calculability and purposive manipulation in handling everyday life situations, they tended to accept a rational world-view incorporating an ethic of compensation.<sup>5</sup>

In marked contrast, peasants, involved in the organic processes and incalculable events of nature and not acquainted with rational market economies in traditional societies, tended to depend on magic to influence the irrational and unpredictable cosmic forces.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Max Weber, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-97.

The wealthy commercial classes, Weber found, were far removed from the idea of ethical compensation. Their religion was characterized by a strongly mundane orientation excluding any inclination for the prophetic, ethical, or salvation religion.<sup>7</sup>

Warriors had their own style of religious life. Exposed to the danger of death, and the unpredictable elements of human existence, they were interested in honor. From religion they needed protection from evil magic, prayers for victory, and beliefs in a warrior's heaven. Other aspects of religion did not appeal to them.<sup>8</sup>

Weber found the religious tendencies of the bureaucrats, classically formulated in Confucianism, as opportunistic and utilitarian. A body of conventions, their religion displayed "an absolute lack of feeling of a need for salvation or for any transcendent anchorage for ethics." Personal religion of an emotional kind tended to be eliminated. The enlightened official in China observed certain rites for the ancestors and paid respect for elders as necessary to the social order, but actually felt a certain distance from the spirits.<sup>9</sup>

Writing about the elite as against the disprivileged classes, Weber noted that the former assigned to religion "the primary function of legitimating their own life-pattern and situation in the world"--while the latter showed a predisposition for doctrines of salvation but often of a quasi-religious, rather than a religious kind. They had no stake in society.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

Alienated from the system, they accepted Marxism as a secular salvation gospel. Social and economic oppression rendered them a fertile soil for messianic movements.<sup>10</sup>

Another student of religion who has written quite extensively on the topic is H. Richard Niebuhr.<sup>11</sup> Unlike Weber, who compared religious tendencies of groups irrespective of their denominations, Niebuhr focused on the churches themselves. Using the classical church-sect model for the analysis, he found marked differences between the churches of the disinherited and the churches of the middle class. The first, he notes, have had distinct ethical and psychological characteristics, corresponding to the needs of their members. They are marked by emotional fervor, spontaneity, informality, simple and often crude symbolism, and lay leadership. They have a strong propensity towards millenarianism with its promises of tangible goods and the reversal of all present social systems of rank. The poor appreciate better the radical character of the ethics of the Gospel and offer greater resistance to the tendency to compromise with the morality of the power structures than their more fortunate brethren. They display a strong spirit of solidarity and equality, and of sympathy and mutual aid, rigorous honesty in matters of debts, and simplicity in dress and manner. Simple and direct in their apprehension of faith, they shun relativization of ethical standards, and by their conduct often demonstrate their moral and religious superiority.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 101, 107.

<sup>11</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, (New York Henry Holt & Co., 1929).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-31.

In the course of time, when religion becomes abstract, philosophical, formal, and ethically harmless in the process, the poor find themselves expatriated. It is in such situations that new religious movements crop up or religious fervor is channeled into secular movements which hold some hope of salvation.

The churches of the middle class, Niebuhr admits, are not as well defined as those of the poor. They present a more complex pattern, both of sociological structure and of social interest than those of the lower class. Yet, certain constant features are detectable. Because responsibility for their success or failure is placed entirely on their own shoulders, middle class individuals are highly self-conscious. They think more in terms of persons than forces; more in terms of personal merit than fortune or fate. Their religion is intensely personal in character. For them the problem of personal salvation is more urgent than the problem of social redemption. In their conception of heaven, individual felicity is high-lighted. Millenarianism does not appeal to them partly because of their success in the temporal order.<sup>13</sup>

The corollary of the emphasis on selfhood is the activist attitude toward life which is evident in the middle class. Life is the sphere of labor. Business is the very essence of existence, and industry is the method of all attainment. This "practical rationalism" colors the middle class conception of religion as well. The values of religion are regarded less as a divine free gift than as the end of striving; constant activity is the method of religion; the conception of God is that of a dynamic will; the content of faith is a task rather than a promise; activity willed by God and carried out with the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

sense of being God's tool is the preferred religious attitude among the middle class.<sup>14</sup>

The God of the middle class is the Old Testament "Jehovah" of energetic activity and of stern legislation, the creator and the judge, rather than the Redeemer and the Saviour. Sin is not so much a state of the soul as a deed or a characteristic, a personal failure of the individual. Similarly, righteousness is a matter of right actions carried out in obedience to a series of Divine commandments. A general spirit of well-being, therefore, is insufficient. It is necessary that religion establish a code of right conduct. Salvation is conceived as a process within the individual, delivering him not so much from sin and guilt, as from bad habits and evil desires which war against the Divine commands. Honesty, industry, sobriety, thrift, and prudence are held in great veneration, while solidarity and sympathy are ignored.<sup>15</sup>

The ethics of the middle class are marked by individualism. The moral welfare of the individual is the goal of ethical life, and the evident sign of achievement of this goal is success in this world. Poverty is a moral failing to be condemned, not a misfortune to be pitied. The middle-class ethics produce real heroism of self-discipline and resistance to power structures when they conflict with the imperatives of the individual conscience. Its martyrs die for liberty, not for fraternity and equality.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, middle-class individualism and activism manifest themselves in

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-86.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

the democratic constitution of its churches, designed to give free scope to the individual, yet to safeguard the high standards of morality; to mould character and to fulfill in their very structure the demands of the Divine Will.<sup>17</sup>

From what has so far been said, it is evident that there is a continual dialectic between the religious and non-religious aspects of human life. Karl Marx was not altogether wrong when he stated that everything in society, including religion, is a product of the economic system. The absolute relationship between economy and religion as Marx conceived it is certainly too simplistic an explanation to be accepted; but his insight into the relationship cannot be denied. Max Weber too was right when, against Marx, he showed in his classical work, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, that the economic system could just as well be the product of a religious system.

Weber demonstrated that capitalism could never have seen the light of day, had not the Protestant ethic provided it with a religious and psychological basis.

The particular non-religious aspect that this study is interested in is social class as it affects religion. The American context of the separation between church and state renders religion all the more susceptible to non-religious factors, particularly social class.<sup>18</sup> Table I reflects this fact with regard to religious affiliation.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas J. Demerath, III. Social Class in American Protestantism, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p. 7.

TABLE I

## SOCIAL CLASS PROFILES OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

DENOMINATION	CLASS:			N
	UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	
Christian Scientist	24.8%	36.5%	38.7%	(137)
Episcopal	24.1	33.7	42.2	(590)
Congregational	23.9	42.6	33.5	(376)
Presbyterian	21.9	40.0	38.1	(961)
Jewish	21.8	32.0	46.2	(537)
Reformed	19.1	31.3	49.6	(131)
Methodist	12.7	35.6	51.7	(2100)
Lutheran	10.9	36.1	53.0	(723)
Christian	10.0	35.4	54.6	(370)
Protestant (small bodies)	10.0	27.3	62.7	(888)
Roman Catholic	8.7	24.7	66.6	(2390)
Baptist	8.0	24.0	68.0	(1381)
Mormon	5.1	28.6	66.3	(175)
No Preference:	13.3	26.0	60.7	(466)
Protestant (Undesig- nated)	12.4	24.1	63.5	(460)
Atheist, Agnostic	33.3	46.7	20.0	( 15)
No Answer or Don't Know:	11.0	29.5	59.5	(319)

Source: Herbert Schneider, Religion in 20th Century America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), Appendix p. 228.  
The data were gathered in 1945 and 1946.

While at the high status extreme, nearly one-fourth of the Christian Scientists, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists are from the upper class, fewer than one-half are from the lower class. At the other end, fewer than one-tenth of the Roman Catholics, Baptists, and Mormons are from the upper class, while roughly two-thirds are from the lower class.

The existence of a relationship between social class and religious affiliation is one of the commonly recognized facts about religion in the United States. This relationship, however, is not to be understood in an



absolute sense. It does not imply that, in any given religious group, one social class is exclusively represented, but rather that it is pre-dominantly represented, at least in comparison with other groups. Every major religious denomination has its poor, just as it has its rich--but in different proportions. The predominance of one social class in one religious group and of another in another religious group can be explained theoretically by the fact that people placed in different social classes have relatively different social, psychological, and religious needs; and they tend to belong to those groups which promise the highest satisfaction of these needs. In other words, theoretically speaking, people can be expected to choose those religious groups which are most functional to them.

But then, how explain the class-heterogeneity of the major religious denominations? What about those individuals or groups to whom the religious denomination of which they are members is not particularly suited to fulfill their specific needs? This question becomes especially important in the case of Catholics who believe that theirs is the only Church "endowed with all Divinely revealed truth" and "enjoying the fullness of the means of salvation."<sup>19</sup> As a consequence, they make sure their children are brought-up as Catholics. If one can talk in terms of religious status, generally speaking, it is ascribed rather than achieved status in the case of Catholics. And, secondly, there is relatively little room in the Catholic Church for the adaptation of the religious activities, e.g. liturgy, to the needs of the parishioners at the parish level. How does this affect the religiosity of

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<sup>19</sup> Walter M. Abbot, (Gen. Ed.) The Documents of Vatican II. (New York: Guild Press, 1966), p. 346.

individual parishioners? Demerath suggests that, in cases of this kind, the individuals control their religious activities, by being selective in their religious beliefs and practices. It is precisely this phenomenon that this study proposes to analyze.

More specifically, the purpose of this study is to find whether within the framework of the Catholic Church social class is a determining factor in the religiosity of the individuals so that, on the basis of their placement in the social ladder, a specific religious orientation can be predicted for them.

Is there a consistent relationship between social class and religiosity, irrespective of the dimension of religion involved, so that one could establish a direct relationship between the two variables? Or does this relationship differ depending on the religious dimension involved, so that one cannot generalize the relationship without at the same time specifying the nature of the religious involvement? These are the questions this study will attempt to answer.

### Review of Literature

In reviewing the studies of the past, it is of crucial importance to bear in mind the empirical indicator used to measure religious involvement in each study. Since religion is multi-dimensional, as will be seen later in this chapter, one single indicator is not adequate to measure all its aspects. In fact, certain aspects may be negatively correlated to each other. Hence, it is important to evaluate the methodology so that one can rightly interpret the results.

Studies conducted in the 1880's,<sup>20</sup> casual and informal by today's standards, revealed that the professionals and businessmen were over-represented in church membership and attendance, whereas manual laborers were under-represented.

Hadley Cantril, in his study of a nationally representative sample, found that there was generally a positive and direct relationship between church membership and social class.<sup>21</sup> Although the extreme upper class had a slightly lower rate of membership than the middle class, the two added together had a higher rate than the lower class. This pattern of relationship has been found in many other studies, as well. It has been found true for a single community in the Midwest;<sup>22</sup> among cotton farmers;<sup>23</sup> for residents of medium-sized Kentucky communities;<sup>24</sup> among residents of several Mid-Western

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<sup>20</sup> Studies quoted in A.I. Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> Hadley Cantril, "Educational and Economic Composition of Religious Groups," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII (1943), pp. 574-79.

<sup>22</sup> Wilfred Bailly, "The Sacred and Profane Worlds of Jonesville," in W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 149-67; August B. Hollingshead, "Religion and Religious Behavior" Elmtown's Youth (New York: Wiley, 1949), Chapter X, pp. 243-66.

<sup>23</sup> Otis Dudley Duncan and J. T. Sanders, "A Study of Certain Economic Factors in Relation to Social Life in Oklahoma Cotton Farmers, of Stillwater, Okla." AES Bulletin No. 211, 1933.

<sup>24</sup> Harold F. Kaufman, "Participation in Organized Activities in Selected Kentucky Localities; Lexington, Kentucky," AES Bulletin No. 528, 1949.

towns with populations ranging from a few hundred to several thousand;  
and for Gallup Polls.<sup>26</sup>

Church participation, particularly church attendance, was found to correlate heavily with increasing social class rank in a pre-War I study of several differently located communities.<sup>27</sup> This correlation held good for exclusively rural samples,<sup>28</sup> for urban ones,<sup>29</sup> for nationally representative samples,<sup>30</sup> for community studies,<sup>31</sup> and even for the religious pattern of teen-agers when correlated with their parents' occupational and educational status.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>W. Widwick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, "Church Participation Patterns," Religion in American Culture (New York: The Free Press, 1964), Chapter II, pp. 32-54.

<sup>26</sup>George Gallup, American Institute of Public Opinion, News (July 20, 1954) cited in Leo Rosten (ed.), A Guide to Religions in America (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1955).

<sup>27</sup>Anton T. Boisen, "Factors Which Have to do With the Decline of the Rural Church," American Journal of Sociology, XXIII (1916), pp. 177-92.

<sup>28</sup>John A. Hostetler and William Mather, "Participation in the Rural Church," Penn. State College, AES Paper No. 1762 (Oct. 1952).

<sup>29</sup>Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Religious Preference, Familism and the Class Structure," The Midwest Sociologist, XIX (1957), pp. 79-86; and Joseph B. Schuyler, Northern Parish (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1960).

<sup>30</sup>Bernard Lazarwitz, "Some Factors Associated with Varieties in Church Attendance," Social Forces, XXXIX (1961), pp. 301-9.

<sup>31</sup>William G. Mather, Jr., "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review VI (1941), pp. 380-3.

<sup>32</sup>H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill) pp. 153-77.

The above relationship held good irrespective of the indicator used to measure social class: occupation,<sup>33</sup> education,<sup>34</sup> income,<sup>35</sup> subjective identification<sup>36</sup> or a combined SES score.<sup>37</sup> It held good when other indicators like holding office in church organizations,<sup>38</sup> or a combined index of overall activity made up of church attendance, regularity of church financial support, participation, and holding of office in church organizations were used.<sup>39</sup> It held good for Great Britain,<sup>40</sup> and Continental Europe.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the relationship is more pronounced in the Catholic countries, where

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<sup>33</sup> Lazerwitz; Hostetler; Mather, also Gerald A. Kelly, Catholic and the Practice of Faith (Washington: The Catholic U. of America Press, 1946), p. 198.

<sup>34</sup> Lazerwitz; Boisen; and Kelly.

<sup>35</sup> Bell and Force; and Mather.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand-McNally & Co., 1965), pp. 194.

<sup>37</sup> Yoshio Fukuyama, "Major Dimensions of Church Membership," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Divinity School, University of Chicago, 1960.

<sup>38</sup> Jerome Davis, "A Study of Protestant Boards of Control," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVII (1932), pp. 418-31; Kaufman, op. cit.

<sup>39</sup> Yoshio Fukuyama, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> M. Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge & Keagan Paul, 1958).

<sup>41</sup> Schuyler, op. cit., "Studies in Religious Observance," Appendix I, pp. 283-97.

the alienation of the working class from the church, or "dechristianization" as it has been called, is a serious problem.

Finally two studies, Catholics and the Practice of Faith by Kelly<sup>42</sup> and Leakage From A Catholic Parish by Schnepf,<sup>43</sup> deserve special mention because (like the present study) both focus exclusively on Catholics. In the first, which is an analysis of the parish census data of the diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, the author concludes that religious observance correlates directly with social class whether the latter is measured by occupation, monthly rental value of the home, or education. Catholic education has its impact on men, he notes, provided it continues beyond the 7th grade; whereas with women, an increase in education of any type brings about an improvement in religious observance.

Schnepf concentrates on the problem of leakage in his study. Since leakage is just one step from "marginality", his conclusions about leakage should also reflect religious observance. Schnepf found that leakage was highest in those occupations characterized by mobility, unskilled labor, and low wages; and least in the occupations characterized by greater security and demanding pre-requisites of high character and skill.

On the basis of a survey of seventy-five works dealing with the empirical relationship between social class and church activity, David O. Moberg concludes that church membership, church attendance, belonging to and holding

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<sup>42</sup> Kelly, op. cit., pp. 193, 197-8.

<sup>43</sup> G. J. Schnepf, Leakage from a Catholic Parish (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942), pp. 336-7.

office in church organizations vary by education, occupation, and income of the individuals.<sup>44</sup> One can go a step further and state that this relationship is generally positive and linear or curvilinear, the upper and middle class taken singly or together scoring higher than the lower class.

The word "generally" was purposely used in the last sentence because there are exceptions, although rare. Sometimes a study finds the positive relationship to hold among members of one religious denomination but not among those of another,<sup>45</sup> for one indicator but not for another.<sup>46</sup> A few studies, however--without data to support them--claim that under certain circumstances, the relationship between social class and church activity should be inverse.<sup>47</sup> These exceptional findings and claims, however, cannot invalidate the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

A note of caution seems in order here. With regard to the parish activities, it should be borne in mind that although their association with social class is clear the meaning of this association is not. Demerath makes two important observations in this connection: first, that the secular quality

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<sup>44</sup>David O. Moberg, "Social Class and the Churches," National Council of Churches' Information Service, June 14, 1958, pp. 6-8.

<sup>45</sup>James Cowhig and Leo F. Schnore, "Religious Affiliation and Attendance in Metropolitan Centers," American Catholic Sociological Review XXIII, (Summer, 1962), pp. 113-37.

<sup>46</sup>Louis Bultena, "Church Membership and Church Attendance in Madison, Wisconsin," American Sociological Review, XIV (1949), pp. 384-9.

<sup>47</sup>Thomas F. Hoult, The Sociology of Religion (New York: Dryden, 1958), p. 33; Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behaviour (N.Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1964), p. 393; J. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954).

of many parish activities makes them doubtful indicators of religiosity; and second, that if one compares the high and low status adherents on the proportion of sacred to secular activities, the differences reverse.<sup>48</sup> Hence, he concludes:

Thus, the low-status parishioner spends a larger amount of his organizational investment on the church than does the high-status member. Kenneth Lutterman provides similar evidence for an investment of a more literal sort in his study of financial giving to churches. Although the lower status church member may give less money to the church on absolute grounds, he gives a higher percentage of his income. In short, even a smaller donation of a single activity may be more salient to a low-class member because it is less rivalled by commitments of other sorts.<sup>49</sup>

Goode's study points somewhat in this direction.<sup>50</sup> He found that the high representation of the middle class in church organizations is a reflection of their overall involvement in all types of organizations. The relationship between social class and church activity as well as that between social class and non-church activity were significant. So was the relationship between church participation and non-church participation. But when the general, non-church, formal organizational participation was controlled, the original uncontrolled relationship between social class and religious participation was greatly attenuated. This finding gives more weight to Demerath's question about the meaning of the relationship between social class and church participation.

<sup>48</sup> Demerath, p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Eric Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (1966), pp. 102-111.



The studies reviewed so far deal with the relationship between social class and the organizational and cultic aspects of religion. But this is just one aspect of religion and, therefore, it cannot be equated with the whole of it. When the focus is shifted to other aspects of religion, the positive relationship between social class and religiosity generally does not hold good. The Lynds, for instance, found that the lower class individuals were more committed to their religion in terms of belief. They write:

. . . members of the working class show a disposition to believe their religion more ardently, and to assumulate more emotionally charged values around their beliefs. Religion appears to operate more prominently as an active agency of support and encouragment among this section of the city.<sup>51</sup>

They also found that there was a shift in the status of certain religious beliefs--notably the decline in the emphasis upon Heaven, and still more upon Hell--particularly among the business class.

Gerhard Lenski, in his analysis of small sample of Detroiters, reports that while church attendance directly relates to class, other forms of religious involvement are inversely related.<sup>52</sup> Persons of middle class occupations and college education are less likely to be doctrinally orthodox and devotionally active than those with working class occupations and without college education.

Glock and Ringer's research with Episcopalians showed that, whereas in church attendance and parish activities, the lower class individuals scored

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<sup>51</sup> Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., Inc., 1929), p. 329.

<sup>52</sup> Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1961).

lowest, with regard to the "intellectual dimension" they scored highest.<sup>53</sup> The latter referred to the knowledge of traditional doctrine and reading of religious literature.

Fukuyama's study was more elaborate.<sup>54</sup> He delineated four types of religiosity: cultic, cognitive, creedal, and devotional. The cultic was a combination of church attendance and organizational activity. The cognitive represented the parishioner's knowledge of religious doctrine and church affairs of his congregation. The creedal signified personal allegiance to traditional doctrines. And finally, the devotional referred to personal prayer and reliance upon religion beyond the church itself.

The study showed that cultic and cognitive dimensions of religiosity correlated positively with social class; whereas creedal and devotional dimensions, both reflecting a more inward religious orientation that is less concerned with the formal church and more with personal needs and feelings, correlated negatively with social class. Fukuyama concluded that "different social classes differ not so much in the degree to which they are religiously oriented, but in the manner in which they give expression to their religious propensities."<sup>55</sup>

Another study that finds the lower classes more religiously involved is

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<sup>53</sup> Charles Y. Glock and B. Ringer, Society, The Church and Its Parishioner, (Book in preparation, Survey Research Center, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.)

<sup>54</sup> Yoshio Fukuyama, "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership," Review of Religious Research, II (1961), pp. 154-61.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

Demerath's survey in Winchester, Massachusetts.<sup>56</sup> Demerath found that social status is negatively related to fundamentalism and religious beliefs. The lower class individuals also had a higher frequency of personal prayer and even perceived prayer differently. They saw it as a spiritual dialogue and a Divine source of guidance, whereas the higher status respondents interpreted it more as self-administered therapy in secular psychiatric sense.

The findings of the Lynds and others, supporting a negative correlation between social class and religious beliefs, are not altogether unquestionable. Rodney Stark in his analysis of data from Great Britain found that certain beliefs were positively related to social class. The respondents were questioned on three beliefs: that Jesus is truly God's Son, that the Devil does exist, and that there is life after death. With regard to all three beliefs, the upper class had the highest percentage of believers; the middle class as a whole the second highest; and the unskilled working class, the lowest.<sup>57</sup>

Another study that casts doubts on the relationship between social class and inwardly oriented religiosity is Lenski's study of a representative sample of the Indianapolis area.<sup>58</sup> He approached religiosity by way of "interest". Since interest is more personal and less institutionalized than formal membership, church attendance, and parish activities, one would presume that the lower class would score higher than the middle and the upper classes.

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<sup>56</sup> N.J. Demerath, III. "Religious Participation, Attitudes and Beliefs In An Adult Sample," Unpublished A.B. Honors Thesis, Harvard College, 1958.

<sup>57</sup> Rodney Stark, "Class Radicalism, and Religious Involvement in Great Britain," American Sociological Review, XXIX (1964), pp. 698-706.

<sup>58</sup> Gerhard Lenski, "Social Correlates of Religious Interest," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (1953), pp. 533-44.

But, in the study, the relationship was not clear. When social class was determined on the basis of occupational prestige, the family's total financial worth, and the respondent's education, lower classes were found to be more "interested" than middle and upper classes. But when social class was measured by the household's yearly income, the high status respondents evinced more interest. Lenski found more ambiguity than consistency in this study and rejected all the findings as statistically insignificant.

How can these divergencies be explained? One source of explanation, in particular with regard to Lenski's study of Indianapolis, is in the vagueness of the term "religious interest", which could be differently interpreted by different classes. But a more basic explanation lies in the nature of the sample chosen for study. Lenski and Stark examined samples that represented whole metropolitan areas or nations, and therefore also people who do not accept any form of religion. These are over-represented in the lower classes. The studies of the Lynds, Glock and Ringer, Fukuyama, and Demerath examined individuals who were, by their own admission, church members, or who could have been presumed to be so because of the small size of the towns they lived in, where church membership was the norm.

This difference points to an important hypothesis to which Demerath has drawn our attention, namely that "if a lower class individual is committed to a religion at all, his internal involvement is likely to be higher than that of his high status church fellows. On the other hand, there is a large segment of the lower class that has no religious commitment whatsoever. Perhaps because these people have found functional alternatives to religion in political extremism, trade unions, or the extended family, they are

markedly different and must be held apart in any assessment of the church's importance to its members."<sup>59</sup>

One thing seems to stand out clearly in the studies reviewed so far, namely that there are many ways of being religiously involved and that these may relate differently to the stratification structure. This explains the discrepancy between the findings of studies. They claim to measure religiosity but use indicators that can measure only certain aspects of religiosity and naturally end up with conflicting results. Religion, in other words, is not a unidimensional, but a multidimensional phenomenon. The fact that one social class is high on one dimension does not mean that it is more religious than another class which is low on that dimension, because the latter can be high on another dimension on which the former is low. Comparison between social classes with regard to religion, therefore, is possible only on particular dimensions of religiosity, and not on religiosity as-a-whole.

Before closing this section, one approach used in the study of the relationship between social class and religiosity, which tides over the problem of the discrepancy just discussed, needs to be mentioned. It is the use of the classical church-sect typology. Originally formulated by Weber for the analysis of religious institutions<sup>60</sup> and later substantially elaborated and extensively used by his student, Troeltsch,<sup>61</sup> it has been employed by some sociologists as a classificatory device in the study of

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<sup>59</sup>Demerath, p. 25.

<sup>60</sup>Max Weber, op. cit., pp. 145-54.

<sup>61</sup>Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (N.Y.: The MacMillan Co., 1932), I, pp. 331-82

religious behavior. The assumption is that, both in the churches and the sects, there are individuals who manifest church-type and sect-type religiosity.

The credit of enumerating in great detail the characteristics of the types "church" and "sect" goes to Liston Pope.<sup>62</sup> Dynes constructed a scale on the basis of those characteristics which could conveniently be related to other characteristics of a sample population. In his study, he found that the sectarian traits were significantly related to low socio-economic status regardless of the denominational affiliation.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, in a similar research on Holiness sects, Johnson discovered strong similarity in the basic ethical orientation between groups commonly called "sectarian" and the more "respectable" sectors of American Protestantism.<sup>64</sup>

The most recent study in this line is Demerath's Social Class in American Protestantism.<sup>65</sup> After an evaluation of the available typologies that could be used for the study of religiosity, he chose the church-sect as the most apt one. Further, he incorporated it into each of Glock's ritualistic, ideological, experiential, and consequential dimensions thus dividing them into church-type and sect-type religiosity, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Applying these more refined concepts to religious behaviour

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<sup>62</sup>Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 1942).

<sup>63</sup>Russell R. Dynes, "The Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX (1955), pp. 555-60.

<sup>64</sup>Benton Johnson, "A Critical Appraisal of Church-Sect Typology," American Sociological Review, XXII (1957), pp. 88-92.

<sup>65</sup>Demerath, op. cit.

he discovered that the church-type religiosity was positively related to social class, whereas with regard to the sect-type religiosity the relationship reversed.

The refinement in Demerath's analytic distinctions is certainly a praiseworthy contribution to religious sociology. But in recent years, the church-sect typology itself has been under fire.<sup>66</sup> Its weaknesses have been exposed and the very utility of the concept as an analytic device has been questioned. For one thing, the types church and sect lack precise definition. As Goode has pointed out, definitions by enumeration of traits are notoriously useless when the concept is to be used as an analytic tool. Secondly, it is not clear even in the enumeration of traits which are the essential ones. Sociologists who have used the typology have taken the liberty to determine for themselves which traits form the core of the concepts, and these vary widely among themselves. The question whether the traits enumerated hang together because of an intrinsic relationship is a valid one in the assessment of any typology as a tool of analysis. After enumerating several loopholes in the church-sect typology, Eister concludes that as a heuristic device, the conceptualization falters.<sup>67</sup> For these reasons, the church-sect typology will not be used in

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<sup>66</sup> Eric Goode, "Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension," The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VI (Spring 1967), pp. 69-77; also, "Further Reflections on the Church-Sect Dimension," VI (Fall 1967), pp. 271-75; Allan Eister, "A Radical Critique of Church-Sect Typologizing: Comment on 'Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension,'" Ibid., (Spring 1967), pp. 85-90; Nicholas J. Demerath, III A Sow's Ear: "A Reply to Goode," Ibid., (Spring 1967), pp. 77-84; also "Son of Sow's Ear," Ibid., (Fall 1967), pp. 275-77.

<sup>67</sup> Eister, loc. cit.

this study. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the findings of this study might indirectly shed some light on the factors that lie at the root of the sectarian and church traits, since many types of religious involvement will be considered under each of Glock's dimensions.

### Conceptual Framework

The purpose of this section is to outline the sociological approach to the problem under investigation. We shall see how the problem fits into the sociological framework and what sociological concepts could be used as tools of analysis.

Sociology has been defined as "The study of systems of social actions and their inter-relations."<sup>68</sup> To understand the definition, it is necessary to have a clear notion of system, a term of common currency in biology, physiology, and psychology as well. Riley defines it as follows:

. . . a system is made up of identifiable parts, which are mutually interdependent so that each part influences all the others, and in turn is influenced by them; and together the several parts form the system as a whole.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Alex Inkeles, What Is Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965), p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), p. 10.



A system, therefore, implies unity of distinct parts and their mutual inter-relatedness, such that a change introduced in any part would send its ripples throughout the whole. The impact may be more pronounced on one part than on another, depending on the nature of the change and the degree of relationship; but the process of adjustment through which the whole system reaches its equilibrium is inevitable.

In sociology, the basic unit of the system is interaction or social action. Now, social actions do not exist independently of the actors, but they can be conceived as such. Seen in this fashion, they exhibit a certain order. They are systematic and manifest specific relationships between the actors from whom they proceed. They are related to each other with respect to certain functions around which they revolve. Thus social system can be said to be "constituted of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations."<sup>70</sup>

Systems of social actions can be conceived at different levels. They may range in an increasing order of size and complexity from individual social acts through relationships, institutions, and communities to societies, to mention just the prominent ones. No matter how small or large the empirical object of sociological analysis is, it can always be looked upon from the systematic viewpoint.

The two systems involved in the present study are religious and societal systems. The empirical realities corresponding to these two systems

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Charles P. Loomis and Zona K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1965), p. 2.

are the Catholic Church and the American society. Each has its own independent existence, its own basic values and beliefs, its own ways of achieving its goals and revolve around distinct needs and functions.

Our concern is restricted to those areas of these systems which overlap; to those individuals, namely, who are actors in both systems. We are interested in the consequences of the inter-penetration of the two systems. And we consider these consequences, not insofar as they are common to all the actors, but as they are different or peculiar to them on the basis of their social class. In other words, we narrow our focus to the American Catholic Church, which is a sub-system, and conceptualize it as divided into distinct classes on the basis of American values and try to discover how this differentiation affects the religiosity of the actors.

At the individual level, the effects of stratification on religiosity can be understood in the framework of what Merton has called status-set. Merton borrowed the concepts of role and status from Linton and developed them. By status, Linton meant a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals. By role, he referred to the behavioral enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position. Status and role served to connect culturally defined expectations with patterned behavior and relationships which comprise social structure.

Merton introduced the concepts of role-set and status-set. The former refers to that "complement of role relationship which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status."<sup>71</sup> For example, the single status

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<sup>71</sup> Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1963), p. 369.

of a medical student entails not only the role of student in relation to his teacher, but also an array of other roles relating the occupant of that status to other students, nurses, physicians, medical technicians, etc. Status-set refers to "the complement of social statuses of an individual...each of the statuses in turn having its own distinctive role-set."<sup>72</sup> These concepts are structural and refer to parts of the social structure at a particular time.

The concept of status-set is a link that merges into one the statuses of an actor in different social systems. This merger of statuses does not leave the role-sets of those statuses unaffected. Certain amount of tension is bound to result, since some discrepancy between the role-sets is likely to be present. This tension has to be resolved and the roles have somehow to be articulated so that an appreciable degree of equilibrium obtains, sufficient to enable most of the people most of the time, to go about the business of their social life without having to improvise adjustments anew in each newly confronted situation. Merton writes:

Complex status-sets not only make for some form of liaison between sub-systems in a Society, they confront the occupants of these statuses with distinctly different degrees of difficulty in organizing their role-activities. Furthermore, primary socialization in certain social statuses with their characteristic value-orientations may so affect the formation of personality, as to make it sometimes more, sometimes less, difficult to act out the requirements of other statuses.<sup>73</sup>

Merton, then, describes the different mechanisms through which the problem of articulating the different statuses is solved:

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 369-70.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 381.

Counteracting such difficulties which are potentially involved in complex status-sets are several types of social processes. For one thing, people are not perceived by others as occupying only one status, even though this may be the controlling status in a particular relationship... This social perception of competing obligations entailed in status-sets serves to cushion and to modify the demands and expectations by members of the role-sets associated with some of these statuses.

This kind of continuing adaptations is in turn related to the values of Society. To the extent that there is a prior consensus on the relative "importance" of conflicting status obligations, this reduces the internal conflict of decision by those occupying these statuses and eases the accommodation on the part of those involved in the role-sets.

Social structures are not without power of learned adaptations, successively transmitted through changed cultural mandates. This helps mitigate the frequency and intensity of conflict in the status-set. For the greater the frequency with which patterned conflict between the obligations of multiple statuses occurs, the more likely that new norms will evolve to govern these situations by assigning priority to obligations. This means that each individual caught up in these stressful situations need not improvise new adjustments. It means further, that members of his role-set will in effect make it easier for him to settle the difficulty by accepting his "decision", if it is in accord with these functionally evolved standards of priority.<sup>74</sup>

Since we are concerned with the effects of social status on religiosity, we focus on the relationship of the roles entailed in the religious status to those in the social status, i.e., to those roles connected with a particular position in the social system. On this relationship depends the style religiosity will assume in each social class. The effects of religion on social status do not fall within the scope of this study.

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 381-2

The above relationship, i.e., between religious and social statuses can be one of opposition, compatibility, or complementarity. We have already seen how in the case of opposition, processes of accommodation will produce new norms of behavior. If the relationship is one of compatibility, the degree of the importance of the role in the religious status will determine its future. If the relationship is one of complementarity, then the roles will be most readily accepted and frequently enacted, as these will reinforce the already existing relationships.

Now, how are these effects of social class on religion to be conceptualized? To answer this question, we have to step down from the abstract level, at which we have been so far discussing, to more concrete concepts that would be operationally useful for organizing empirical data and at the same time comprehensive enough to cover all aspects of religion. Glock has made an attempt to provide such concepts. He has proposed five different ways in which individuals can be religiously involved. These five ways, in which, according to the general consensus of world religions religiosity ought to be expressed, can be conceived as the five core dimensions of religiosity. Glock labels them ritualistic, ideological, intellectual, experiential, and consequential. He defines them as follows:

The ritualistic dimension encompasses the specially religious practices expected of religious adherents. It comprises such activities as worship, prayer, participation in special sacraments, fasting and the like.

The ideological dimension is constituted, on the other hand, by expectations that the religious person will hold to certain beliefs. The content and scope of beliefs will vary not only between religions, but often within the same religious tradition. However, every religion sets forth some set of beliefs to which its followers are expected to adhere.

The intellectual dimension has to do with expectation that the religious person will be informed and knowledgeable about the basic tenets of his faith and its sacred scriptures.

The experiential dimension gives recognition to the fact...that the religious person at one time or another achieves direct knowledge of ultimate reality or will experience religious emotion. Included here are all those feelings, perceptions, and sensations which are experienced by an actor or defined by a religious group as involving some communication, however slight with a Divine essence, i.e., with God with ultimate Reality, with transcendental Authority.

The consequential dimension encompasses the secular effects of religious belief, practice, experience, and knowledge on the individual. Included under the consequential dimension are all those religious prescriptions, which specify what people ought to do and the attitudes they ought to hold as a consequence of religion. The notion of works, in the theological meaning of the word is connoted here. In the language of Christian belief the consequential dimension deals with man's relation to man, rather than man's relation to God.<sup>75</sup>

To the extent religiosity measured along these five dimensions varies from class to class, it should indicate the impact of social status on religious status. The differences in religiosity would be a reflection of the differences among class sub-cultures, i.e., the values, beliefs, and attitudes peculiar to each class within the larger framework of the American culture. It is in terms of the dimensions of religiosity delineated by Glock that the consequences of social class for religion will be analyzed.

Thus, the basic hypothesis of this study may be stated as follows: religiosity is related to social class differently depending on the

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21.

dimension of religiosity involved.

The term "religiosity" as used here is synonymous with "religious involvement". It covers all religious behavior, all types of religious commitment. Social class refers to those hierarchical groupings of individuals into which a society organizes its members on the basis of social honor, and/or economic opportunity, and/or commonly shared beliefs, values, and life-style.

The hypothesis is based on the assumption that religiosity is not a unidimensional but multidimensional phenomenon. Sufficient evidence to this assumption was found in the review of literature. It further assumes that the different dimensions of religiosity refer to different ways of being religiously involved, or to different styles of religious life. Hence, the hypothesis implies that the relationship between social class and religiosity cannot be stated as a simple relationship, but only in terms of its different dimensions. This will be more specifically spelled out in the following chapter, after dealing with methodology.

As is clear from the hypothesis, the independent variable in this study is taken to be social class. The dependent variable is taken to be religiosity as it finds its expression in each of its dimensions. The mediating variables are sex, age, ethnic background, type of institutions in which the individual has been educated, more specifically whether the individual has been educated in a Catholic or non-Catholic institution, years of residence in the parish, and personality characteristics. How these come into the analysis will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: first, to outline the research design which will include the description of the tool used in the study and the sample design; second, to state and explain in specific terms the hypotheses of this study; and third, to outline the statistical design.

#### The Research Design

In the section on the theoretical framework, it was pointed out that the focus of this study is narrowed down to the American Catholic Church, conceptualized as a sub-system divided along class lines, each class manifesting a definite type of religious orientation within the broader framework of the American Catholic Church. It was further pointed-out that the sub-system can be seen reflected at the status level. Status here is used as a structural concept to indicate a position in a system or sub-system. Status can be said to reflect the system or the sub-system to the extent that the beliefs and values of a system or sub-system determine and are reflected in the roles associated with a status. Since, in the sub-system we are dealing with, there is a merger of the two systems, societal and religious, the participants in the sub-system are exposed to two sources of beliefs and values by which their role expectations are determined. As pointed out earlier, the concept of status-set offers a conceptual framework within which the consequences of the merger of the two systems, and consequently of the two statuses, can be analyzed.



This study is limited to the analysis of the consequences only as manifested in the style of religious life. To isolate the elements that make up the complex phenomenon of religiosity of different social classes, and to trace their differences through the proper processes back to their corresponding elements in the societal system, is beyond the scope of this study except in terms of general explanations.

We are not interested in the consequences discussed above inasmuch as they are common to all Catholics. We are interested in them inasmuch as they are different, in kind or degree, in different social classes. By social classes is meant here those statistical categories into which the participants within a social system can be hierarchically organized on the basis of certain criteria like education, income, etc. If the religiosity of these social classes differs one from another, while other factors known to influence religiosity are held constant or matched in different social classes, we can establish the relationship between social class and religiosity. If the class variable cannot be completely isolated, we shall have to interpret the findings with necessary reservations.

Now the style of the religiosity of different social classes can best be discovered through the religious behavior of the individuals themselves. In other words, the religious behavior of the individuals is the empirical indicator of their religiosity. In order to collect data on this behavior, a questionnaire was devised.

The writer chose the questionnaire instead of the interview or the observation techniques for the following reasons. Religion is considered a personal and private matter in the American culture. Many of the questions in the questionnaire were directly personal, referring to the respondent's

beliefs, attitudes, background, etc. The interview, therefore, would not only cause embarrassment both to the interviewer and to the interviewee, but also, for that very reason, could be an obstacle to objectivity. What Riley has called the "control effect" would be heavy; whereas the anonymity of the questionnaire would guarantee the individual full freedom to answer the questions honestly and objectively. One has also to take into account the economic advantages, both in terms of time and money, of the questionnaire as compared with the interview technique. The technique of observation could not be used because certain aspects of religion on which this study focuses are beyond its scope. Beliefs, knowledge, and experience cannot always and fully be observed. Hence, the questionnaire technique was found to be the best device to gather data.

Certainly the questionnaire technique has its limitations. For one thing, there is the danger of self-selection among the respondents. Secondly, there is the danger of the respondents misunderstanding the questions. To some extent these limitations were overcome. An interview with the pastors of the parishes helped find out to what extent self-selection was operative. To avoid the possibility of misunderstanding the questions, the questionnaire was pre-tested; and on the basis of the responses a few changes were made. The respondents were also requested to write out their own answers if they differed from those already given in the questionnaire and to make any comments they desired. Some respondents complied with the request most generously.

A few comments on the questionnaire itself are in order here. (The entire questionnaire will be found in the appendix at the end of this dissertation.) The questionnaire consisted mainly of two parts. The first part covered questions related to the dependent variable, religiosity; and

the second part covered questions related to the background of the individual, especially his social class, which is the independent variable in this analysis.

The questions related to religiosity can be categorized on the basis of the five dimensions, already described in the preceding chapter. A short note on each category would give a better understanding of them.

The cultic dimension includes four types of involvement: ritual involvement, organizational participation,<sup>76</sup> family devotions, and personal and private religious practices.

Participation in the Mass on days of obligation and on other days, and the reception of Holy Communion were used as empirical indicators of ritual involvement. Financial contributions to the church and to other directly religious causes, and membership in church organizations such as Holy Name Society, The Tabernacle Guild, the Christian Family Movement, etc. were used as empirical indicators to measure organizational involvement. Family religious practices like prayer at meals were used to measure family devotions. Finally a series of items like penance, prayers, etc. were used to measure private and personal religious involvement, as distinguished from community religious involvement.

The purpose of the questions on family and private religious practices was to find out if these were an overflow of the ritual or organizational religious involvement into the home and one's personal life, or whether they served as substitutes for them.

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This is synonymous with Lenski's "associational involvement."

To measure the intellectual dimension,<sup>77</sup> a series of statements were presented on the Bible, the sacraments, the Church, etc.; and the respondents were asked to check whether "true" or "false". A few questions referred to religious information through periodicals, books, radio and TV programs.

With regard to the creedal dimension, the official teaching of the Catholic Church on faith and morals was presented in a series of propositions. The respondent was to indicate if he accepted them totally with no doubt whatsoever, or if he doubted to what extent he did so. Questions were also included to find out which truths the respondents found to be most influential upon their lives, and whether or not they thought they were obliged to accept all official teachings of the Church.

The experiential dimension needs to be further elaborated here. He divides all religious experience into two major categories: Divine experience and diabolic experience. The first "constitutes encounter with 'good' divinity"; the second with evil forces. The present study limits its inquiry to the first category only. This is classified by Glock as follows:

1. Confirming Experience. A sudden intensification of a conviction or a special occasion of certainty induced by an experience of the presence of sacred influence. This is further distinguished into two sub-types: a generalized sense of sacredness, and a specific awareness of the presence of the Divinity.

This should be distinguished from the "intellectual commitment" as used by Glock, Ringer, and Babbie in To Comfort and To Challenge, where it refers to the respondent's magazine reading habits, his perception of church's influence on his ideas, and the sources he turns to in time of distress.

2. Responsive Experience. This refers to the occasion when a person feels the awareness of the divinity as mutual, namely, that the Divine has also taken notice of the individual's presence, besides the individual's being aware of the Divine. Responsive experience is further distinguished into three sub-types:

- (a) Salvational, i.e., when an individual, for instance feels a strong sense of being saved in Christ.
- (b) Miraculous, i.e., when the Divine interferes in temporal affairs to help an individual in a moment of crisis; and
- (c) Sanctioning, i.e., when the Divine interferes in temporal affairs to punish an individual but for his own welfare.<sup>78</sup>

3. Ecstatic Experience. The awareness of the Divine connoting an affective personal relationship and resulting in joy, etc.

4. Revelational Experience. A feeling that God has confided to the individual special secrets. The revelation could be of different kinds like prophetic, personal, general, and so on, and it can be communicated in many ways like through visions, voices, dreams, etc.

Two types of questions were formulated on the basis of Glock's categories. The first referred to the frequency of such experiences, the second to the situation in which they took place.

The consequential dimension was to be uncovered by questions that referred to the respondent's interest in other people, his attitudes towards other races, the poor, the government's policy with regard to the war in Vietnam, foreign aid, the way he would react in certain situations, etc.

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<sup>78</sup> Glock and Stark, pp. 39-66.

Two questions were asked regarding the different way in which the respondent thought his religion was a help to him, and regarding the individual's friendship ties with the church members.

The second part of the questionnaire, as mentioned earlier, covered questions related to the background of the individual. Questions were asked about the individual's education, occupation, and annual income of the head of his or her family. These were meant to be used as indicators of the respondent's objective status. The respondents were also asked to identify the subjective social class they thought they belonged to, according to their own evaluation by checking one of the following categories: upper class, middle class, working (labor) class, and lower class.

Further, information was also gathered about the respondent's age, sex, ethnic background, years of residence in the parish, etc. These variables were meant to be used as controls in the analysis in those cases in which the relationship between the dependent and independent variables would be doubtful. The device, it was surmised, would help avoid spurious relationships, and thus give greater reliability to the findings.

Since the purpose of this study was to discover the consequences of the stratification system for religion, the main consideration in choosing the sample was that it be representative of as wide a range of social classes as possible. Such a sample could not be obtained from a single parish. Parishes are generally territorially determined in that their members are organized on a geographic basis. Since neighborhoods correlate heavily with social class, not many social classes could be found in one parish. Hence, three parishes were chosen from communities of different socio-economic status according to the generally accepted criteria of education, income, and the cost of home

as given in Local Community Fact Book, Chicago Metropolitan Area.<sup>79</sup>

The communities were Beverly, Oak Lawn, and South Chicago. We shall call the corresponding parishes: parish A, parish B, and parish C, respectively. These constitute the universe from which the samples for this study were taken. Table 2 gives an idea of the differences among the parishes in terms of the above-mentioned criteria.

It must be noted that the socio-economic characteristics that appear in the Table refer to the census tracts and that the parish boundaries do not exactly correspond to them. At times the parish territory covers more than one tract, and at times a tract extends beyond the parish territory. In our sample, for example, parish A consisted mainly of one census tract - whose socio-economic characteristics appear on Table 5 - and small portions of two adjacent tracts whose socio-economic characteristics differed only slightly from the first one. The characteristics of parish B, which appear in the Table, refer to the census tract which extends beyond the parish limits. Parish C covers many tracts and the characteristics in the Table refer to all tracts taken together.

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<sup>79</sup> Evelyn M. Kitagawa & Karl E. Taeuber, Local Community Fact Book, Chicago Metropolitan Area (Chicago: Barton-Aschman Associates, Inc., 1963), pp. 107, 159 & 197.

TABLE 2

SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF  
CENSUS TRACTS FOR PARISHES A, B AND C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS	<u>CENSUS TRACT AREAS</u>		
	PARISH "A"	PARISH "B"	PARISH "C"
Median school years completed	12.9	12.5	9.0
Median family income	\$ 14,813.	\$ 9,075.	\$ 6,949.
Per cent with income under \$3,000.	1.7	3.0	10.8
Per cent with income of \$10,000 and over	74.7	39.8	23.2
Median value of privately owned homes	\$ 25,000.	\$ 22,000.	\$ 17,000.

With regard to all three indicators of socio-economic status, i.e., education, family income, and cost of privately owned homes, the differences among parishes A, B, and C are obvious from the figures in Table 2. It must be noted that the differences between parishes A and B are less pronounced than those between B and C, and this is especially so in the case of education. While between parishes B and C the difference in the "median school years completed" is 3.5 years, it is only .4 years between parishes A and B.

A short description of the growth of the three communities and of the parishes from which the three samples were taken are in order here. South Chicago is the oldest of the three communities. Already in 1920, it had a population of about 14,000. Its fastest growth took place in the 1920's. In 1960, Lithuanians, Germans, and Poles were the leading ethnic groups in the community. Since parish C is located in South Chicago, it is also the



oldest of the three parishes of this study. Established in 1882 as a German national parish, today it is predominantly a Polish and Lithuanian parish. Most of the working males of the parish are employed in factories and steel mills as mechanics, skilled or semi-skilled laborers, or in supervisory positions.

Beverly was residentially mature by 1930. In 1960, the leading ethnic groups were Irish, German, and Swedes. Parish A in Beverly was established in 1936. The Irish predominate among the parishioners today. There is also a concentration of professionals in this parish, especially doctors and lawyers.

Oak Lawn is the most recent of the three communities. The 1910 census counted only 287 persons in this village situated on a prairieland, little touched by the growth of Chicago. OakLawn's major period of growth occurred after the Second World War. Today, it has a population of 50,000. With little industrial employment, Oak Lawn has developed primarily as a dormitory suburb. The community's recent rapid growth is due in large part to the increased accessibility permitted by auto commuting. The parish, too, from which a part of our sample was taken, is the youngest of the three parishes. It was established in 1955. The parishioners are predominantly Irish and young in age, as compared with parishes A and C. The parish can be said to be a typical middle-class parish.

One clear indicator of the differences among the three communities is the type of homes they have. In South Chicago in 1960, 54% of the housing units were owner occupied, 46% of which were single family structures. Only 18% of the 1960 units were structures built since 1940. In Beverly, in contrast during the same year, 82% of the housing units were owner-occupied.

86% of which were single family structures. Forty-two (42%) per cent of the units were structures built since 1940. In Oak Lawn also in 1960, 90% of the housing units were owner-occupied, 98% of which were single family structures. Eighty-eight (88%) per cent of its housing units were structures built since 1940.

The housing units also differ in their size. The median number of rooms of the housing units in the census tracts containing parish A in Beverly was 6.4; it was 5.4 for parish B in Oak Lawn; and 4.7 for parish C in South Chicago.

Let us now briefly discuss the sampling design. The primary basis for selecting the samples was analytical, not representational. The three parishes do not represent--in the statistical sense--the Chicago Metropolitan Area, much less American society. We study the consequences of the stratification system for the religious system, as explained in the preceding chapter, as these manifest themselves in a particular section of the American Catholic Church. The conceptual framework presented earlier still holds good but is limited in its application.

The samples were taken from the parish census cards through random sampling. Parish A had about 800 families, parish B 1600, and parish C 750. It was decided that 200 questionnaires would be sent to parishes A and B each, and 250 to parish C, on the assumption that the response from parish C would be poorer than that of parishes A and B. The number of families in each parish was divided by the number of questionnaires to be sent to that parish. From the result, one number was picked at random to select the first card, and from then-on every fourth, eighth, and third card was chosen respectively from the census cards of the parishes A, B, and C. From each of these cards,

all those who were eighteen years and over were each given a number, and again one number was randomly chosen from the sample.

The questionnaires were mailed to the respondents together with stamped and self-addressed envelopes to return them. An introductory note explained the purpose of the questionnaire. Three announcements were also made in the Sunday bulletin in each of the three parishes regarding the study with an appeal to cooperate. Although the time limit to return the questionnaires was announced as two weeks after the respondents received them, due to the slowness of the returns it had to be extended for four weeks.

The returns were as follows: from parish A--76 (38%); from parish B--88 (44%); and from parish C--50 (20%). Of these 214 questionnaires, six could not be used for lack of necessary information. Another three came in too late. So the total for the three samples used for the study was 205 questionnaires, or 34% of all the questionnaires sent.

One can question here the reliability of the results in view of the different degree of response from the three parishes. One way to gauge the extent to which self-selection might have been operative in the response is to compare our data with the pastors' knowledge of their parishioners' religiosity. The effort was not too successful. The pastors of the three parishes could comment with some degree of confidence only on Mass attendance. Their estimate of the percentage of parishioners attending Mass regularly was slightly lower than what our data indicates. And this was true in all three parishes. The pastors had no basis for their estimate besides their own general impression. What surprised them was the fact that there are Catholics who do not believe in the teachings of the church and yet remain in the church in good conscience. We can only say that to some extent

self-selection is operative in all three samples. Since our main concern is to compare social classes across the three parishes, the possible bias that self-selection may cause in favor of one parish or another is considerably lessened. As we shall explain later, the problem of self-selection is intrinsic to the questionnaire technique and cannot be altogether overcome.

### The Hypotheses

The basic hypothesis of this thesis has already been mentioned. In the light of what has so far been said, this will now be spelled out in more specific terms, i.e., in terms of the five dimensions of religion discussed earlier.

Hypothesis 1: Religiosity measured along its cultic dimension is positively related to social class.

The word "cultic" has replaced Glock's "ritualistic" here because of its broader meaning. The hypothesis implies that the higher one's social class, the more he will be involved in church rituals, organizations, and family and private devotions.<sup>80</sup> The involvement referred to here is the overall involvement. Deviation in the relationship on a particular item is not hereby excluded.

Hypothesis 2: Religiosity measured along its intellectual dimension is positively related to social class.

This implies that the higher one's social class, the more he is exposed to religious information and the more he will know about

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<sup>80</sup>On a theoretical basis, originally it was hypothesized that ritual and organizational involvement would be positively related to social class, and that private and family devotions would be negatively related to social class. But in the light of findings the hypothesis had to be changed to the present one.

his religion.

Hypothesis 3: Religiosity measured along its creedal dimension is negatively, i.e. inversely, related to social class.

Here again Glock's "ideological" has been replaced by "creedal". The latter is narrower in its meaning and more specific and corresponds better to the contents of the questionnaire with regard to this particular dimension.

Hypothesis 4: Religiosity measured along its experiential dimension is negatively, i.e. inversely, related to social class.

The implication of this hypothesis is that the lower class individuals are more emotionally involved in and committed to their religion than the middle class or upper class individuals, who would be more "rational" in their approach to religion.

Hypothesis 5: Religiosity measured along its consequential dimension is negatively, i.e. inversely, related to social class.

The hypothesis implies that religion will have greater influence on the life of a lower-class individual than on the life of a middle or upper class individual. This influence will be manifested in his interest in other people, his attitude towards the poor, his obedience to authority in the church, the extent to which he looks upon the church as a help, etc.

### The Statistical Design

The purpose of this study is to compare the different social classes on religiosity or style of religious life. The comparison will be made by the use of percentages. The use of percentages facilitates the interpretation of the data because of the common base.

Statistical tests of significance will not be used in this study. The significance of statistical associations will be evaluated on the grounds of face validity and internal consistency. The main reason for this is the fact that the hypothesized relationships between social class and the different dimensions of religiosity are not indicated by any one contingency table, but by many tables taken together. Since each table taken individually contains only one element of the dependent variable it would be difficult to find a statistically significant relationship between the independent variable and that particular element of the dependent variable. But if the relationship in each of the tables is consistent, then that seems to be a valid indicator of the postulated relationship between the variables even though no individual table shows any significant relationship.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Seymour M. Lipset et alii, *Union Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), p. 430.

## CHAPTER III

### OVERALL PROFILE OF THE THREE SAMPLES

The sample design has already been outlined. We shall now give an overall descriptive profile of the three samples in terms of some of the characteristics relevant for our present Study and point out some of the limitations.

Of the 205 respondents, 47% (96) were male and 53% (109) were female; 94% (192) were native-born, and 5% (10) foreign-born, and 3 did not identify themselves either way; 79% (162) were married, 15% (31) were single, and the rest were widowed, separated, etc. Asked to identify the social class they thought they belonged to on the basis of their own evaluation--24% (49) replied that they belonged to the "working class" (laborer); 66% (137) identified themselves as belonging to the "middle class"; and 9% (19) figured they were the "upper class". One respondent did not answer this question. None in the samples identified himself with the "lower class".

Table 3 described the educational level of the respondents.

TABLE 3

#### EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS IN THREE PARISH SAMPLES

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Some High School or Less . . . . .	15% (32)
High School Graduate . . . . .	20% (41)
Some College . . . . .	28% (57)
College Graduate . . . . .	20% (42)
Some Post-Graduate Work or more. . .	16% (33)
Total . . . . .	100% (205)

As the figures in the table indicate, the majority of the respondents, i.e., 64% had some college or more. Included in those who has "some high school or less" are the 3% of the whole sample who reported "some grade school" or had "graduated from grade school". The remaining 13% had "some high school". In other words, there was hardly any representation of the uneducated or the little educated in the sample.

It is well to note that, of the 205 respondents, 42% (88) had their education solely in Catholic institutions; 17% (35) solely in non-Catholic institutions; and 40% partly in Catholic and partly in non-Catholic institutions. Table 4 gives the distribution of the respondents by occupation.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Professional . . . . .	23% (47)
Managerial . . . . .	11% (22)
Clerical & Sales . . . . .	16% (33)
Manual Workers . . . . .	15% (30)
Other . . . . .	36% (73)
Total . . . . .	100% (205)

The category "other includes housewives and students. This is certainly not a valid indicator of social class. Wives share the occupational prestige of their husband, and students that of their parents. The over-representation of the white collar workers in the sample is obvious by the fact that only 15% (30) fall into the category of "manual workers".



Table 5 gives the distribution of the respondents by the income of the chief breadwinner of the family.

TABLE 5

INCOME OF THE CHIEF BREADWINNER OF THE  
RESPONDENT'S FAMILY

<u>INCOME BRACKET</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS</u>	
Below \$ 4,000. . . . .	5%	(11)
\$4,000--5,999. . . . .	5%	(11)
\$6,000--7,999. . . . .	11%	(22)
\$8,000--9,999. . . . .	16%	(32)
\$10,000--11,999 . . . . .	15%	(31)
\$12,000--14,999 . . . . .	15%	(30)
\$15,000--19,999 . . . . .	13%	(26)
\$20,000--24,999 . . . . .	7%	(15)
\$25,000 and over . . . . .	13%	(27)
Total . . . . .	100%	(205)

Here again one can notice how, as one moves up towards the low income categories, the figures taper off. Only 5% of the whole sample have an income of less than \$4,000., while 33% have an annual income of \$15,000. or more. The pre-dominance of the middle and the upper classes is obvious in terms of the income, too. This corresponds to the preceding tables showing the distribution of respondents by education and income; and is also indicated by the median income of the sample which is \$11,644.

The median age of the sample was 37.9 years. A little over 30% of the sample fell within the age bracket of 30 to 39 years.

We should mention here the limitations of the above profile statistics. The first limitation results from the fact that the race variable was controlled by limiting the study to white Catholics. This meant a restriction on the class range, too. As the socio-economic characteristics of the samples

indicate, the lower class was almost altogether omitted from the sample, since it, i.e., the lower class, consists mainly of Negroes who have migrated from the South and the Spanish-speaking people from Mexico and Puerto Rico. The omission of these was made unavoidable by the technique used for gathering data. Many of the recent migrants cannot read or write English, and therefore, could not have answered the questions in the questionnaire. The poor response from parish C is an indication that the questionnaire was not really the best tool for collecting data from the working class, much less from the lowest class individuals.

The second limitation is related to the way the samples from the three parishes were chosen. The samples were chosen from the parish census cards, which meant that a sample represented only the registered parishioners and not necessarily all Catholics who live within the parish boundaries and cannot canonically belong to the parish. Although from the estimate of the pastors of the three parishes, the unregistered parishioners would be too few to be of consequence for the study, this is another limitation for each sample to be borne in mind. Its significance consists in that many of the "marginal" and "dormant" Catholics would fall into this category. Hence the religious observance as indicated by data gathered from the sample would not really be a reflection of the whole parish. Since laxity and lack of interest are closely related, it is more likely that "lax" Catholics are over-represented among those who did not return the questionnaire. This is an added reason to believe that the actual practice of faith is not as good as that reflected in the data used in this study. The three pastors' informal knowledge with regard to Mass attendance dovetails with this observation. It is difficult, however, to assess how significant the difference between the actual practice of faith

and that reflected in the data is. But this is not of crucial importance, since our main concern is the comparison of religiosity among different social classes; and what has been said above applies to all of them equally.

One question that might crop up in the mind of the reader is why the three samples from the three different parishes, while lending themselves for comparison, are being treated as an aggregate sample and categorized into social classes on another basis than that of the individual parish of the community. The main reason for this kind of treatment of the sample is the interest of the writer himself who wanted to investigate into the differences of religiosity among the different social classes, i.e., social classes in a statistical sense. Secondly, a contextual analysis of a few selected items in the three samples, in which the same social classes from the different parishes were compared did not show any definite relationship. Differences did appear, but they were inconsistent. Thirdly, no one parish exclusively represented any one social class. Each of the three parishes could be said to be composed predominantly of one class or another, but not exclusively so.

Four types of information relevant to determining the respondents' social class were available: self-evaluation, occupation, income and education. Since the vast majority of the sample placed themselves in the middle class, self-evaluation did not provide sufficient variation to be meaningful and useful measure of social class. Occupation was not used as an index, since a high proportion of respondents identified themselves as housewives. This is not a valid indicator of social class for reasons given earlier. A combination of income and education would have served as a good basis for the classification of the aggregate sample into different social classes. But this could not be done because of the technical difficulties involved in the

data-processing. Income was found to correlate substantially with education. Hence, education alone was used as an indicator of social class in this study.

The sample was classified into the four following categories: "Some high school or less," "High school graduate," "Some College," and "College graduate or more." The last two categories, "College graduate" and "Some Post-graduate work or more," were combined because they showed little difference in their religiosity.

The classification of the aggregate sample on the basis of education may be recalled from Table 3 of this chapter. In order for us to establish the relationship between social class or educational class and religiosity, it is necessary to isolate the independent variable from other variables which are known to influence religiosity. This can be done in two ways: the first is to control the extraneous variables in the analysis, and the second is to establish that no other variable influencing religiosity is significantly related to the explanatory independent variable. Because of the amount of data processing involved in the first method and partly because of the small number of the sample, rigorous control had to be given up. We shall now see whether our independent explanatory variable, i.e., educational class, is related to any other independent extraneous variable.

The variables that are known sociologically to influence religiosity, besides social or education class, are the following: sex, age, ethnic background, the kind of institution in which the individual has been educated, community or parish, and personality characteristics.

The sex variable was not significantly related to any particular educational class. Except in the "college graduates or more" class in which the

males were slightly over-represented (52%), in all the other classes the females were over-represented. But the differences in percentages between the males and the females in the same class or between the sex categories in different classes were slight ranging from one per cent to eight per cent.

Age was found to be related to the educational class, but not consistently. The median age of the "less than high school" class was 47 years. It was 33 for the "Some college" class and 38 for the other two classes.

The predominant ethnic group in each of the educational classes was as follows: "Some high school or less" class had 30% Polish Catholics; "High school graduate" and "Some college" classes had Catholics of mixed parentage as the predominant groups - 25% and 39% respectively; "College graduate or more" had 30% of Irish Catholics as the predominant group. There is no evidence to show that any of the predominant groups in each of the above classes is more, or less, religious than the other in terms of any dimension of religiosity.

As for the type of institutions in which the individuals were educated, the three categories, "All Catholic; All Non-Catholic; and Catholic and Non-Catholic" did not bear any relationship to educational class. A contextual analysis of the three samples on a few selected items indicated that, although differences in religiosity appeared among the same educational classes of the different parishes and communities, there was no consistent relationship between the two variables on any dimension of religiosity. There was no effort made to investigate into the personality characteristics of the sample.

From the above information, one had to bear in mind that age is a variable that has to be taken into consideration in assessing the styles of religious life of different educational classes. What appears peculiar to the

"Some high school or less" could partly be attributed to their higher age bracket.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENTATION OF DATA

In this Chapter, the data collected from the sample will be presented and explained under each of the five dimensions of religiosity. The last section will be devoted to the analysis of inter-dimensional relationships.

#### The Cultic Dimension

As indicated earlier, the cultic dimension was measured by three types of religious involvement: ritual involvement, organizational involvement, and family and private devotions. The ritual dimension was measured by attendance at Mass on days of obligation,<sup>82</sup> on days other than days of obligation, and reception of Holy Communion.

The Mass is the central act of worship in the Catholic Church. Vatican Council II solemnly voiced this belief in the following words:

. . . the liturgy (especially the Mass)<sup>83</sup> is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; at the same time it is the fountain from which all her power flows.<sup>84</sup>

Catholics are obliged to attend Mass every Sunday and Holy Day.

Regular attendance at Mass on these days is considered a clear sign of their

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<sup>82</sup>The days of obligation are all Sundays and Holy Days. The latter, in the United States are: Christmas, Ascension, Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Mary, All Saints Day, and New Year's Day.

<sup>83</sup>The words within brackets are mine.

<sup>84</sup>Abbott, p. 142.

fidelity to God and to their religion. Those who do not conform to this norm are considered lax Catholics.

Table 6 gives the ritual involvement of Catholics as measured by their attendance<sup>85</sup> at Mass on days of obligation. The percentages in the table indicates that most Catholics attend Mass regularly on days of obligation. The significant difference lies between the "s.h.s." class and the rest. Only 81% of the "s.h.s." class attend Mass regularly; whereas about 90% of all other social class individuals are regular church-goers.

TABLE 6

ATTENDANCE AT MASS ON DAYS OF OBLIGATION  
BY CLASS OF PARISHIONER

ATTENDANCE AT MASS	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS (a)		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Regular (b)	81 %	90 %	89 %	91 %
Irregular(c)	19 %	10 %	11 %	9 %
TOTAL Respondents	(32)	(41)	(57)	(75)

(a) Since education alone has been used as an indicator of social class, the different social classes will be referred to in terms of the amount of education the class members had. The columns from left to right represent the following categories: "some high school or less," "high school graduate," "some college," and "college graduate or more," and will be referred to as "s.h.s.", "h.s.g.", "s.c.", and "c.g." class, respectively.

(b) Regular attendance at Mass refers to attendance at Mass on all or almost all days of obligation.

(c) The percentage computations have been rounded to the nearest whole

<sup>85</sup> The word "attendance" denotes compliance with the Church law. No effort was made in the questionnaire to find out how intensely the respondents participated in the Mass and what it really meant to them in their daily lives. Table 8 related specifically to reception of Holy Communion.



point, .5 or less to the lower, and .6 or more to the upper unit. The column percentage may, therefore, occasionally add to 99 or 101 rather than exactly 100 per cent.

(d) The term "irregular" covers a range of categories from "attending Mass twice or thrice a month" to "once or twice a year."

(e) The total number of respondents will not be given in the rest of the tables, unless a special reason calls for their presentation. The totals are not exactly the same in every table, but the differences are slight.

As a rule, all priests celebrate Mass everyday in the Catholic Church and some faithful participate in it, although they are not obliged to do so. The occasion may be a special feast, a Mass offered for a deceased relative or friend, a birthday, First Friday devotion, etc. Some attend Mass on weekdays, even everyday because they find in it a powerful means of sanctification. Table 7 shows that not all attend Mass on weekdays to the same extent.

TABLE 7

ATTENDANCE AT MASS ON DAYS OTHER THAN  
DAYS OF OBLIGATION BY CLASS

ATTENDANCE AT MASS	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Sometimes(a)	44 %	46 %	63 %	61 %
Never	56 %	54 %	37 %	39 %

(a) Refers to sometimes during the week, the month, or the year, when there is no obligation to attend Mass.

While only 44% of the s.h.s. class and 46% of the h.s.g. class attend Mass, in the s.c. class and the c.g., the proportion of attendants rises to 63% and 61%. The relationship between social class and Mass attendance when not obliged, seems to be more meaningful than that between social class and Mass

attendance on days of obligation. Since the pressure of obligation is absent in the first case, the relationship seems to be determined more by the need of individuals for a particular type of religious expression.

Another way of presenting the above data would be to combine the s.h.s. and h.s.g. classes which correspond to the middle class. In that case, there appears a direct relationship between social class and Mass attendance; the proportion of attendants in each class being 44%, 56%, and 61%, respectively.

Holy Communion is an integral part of the Mass. Full participation in the Mass implies the reception of Holy Communion. Two things have to be borne in mind here: first, there has been a strong emphasis on the reception of Holy Communion at Mass in recent years, in contrast to the old tradition which stressed a reverential attitude toward the Eucharist, but seldom allowed the faithful to partake of the sacred meal; secondly, reception of Communion requires certain dispositions in the recipients, namely, that they be free from serious sin and observe the Eucharistic fast.<sup>85</sup>

Ecclesiastical law requires that Catholics receive Communion at least once during the Easter season. One cannot, however, ignore the need and the group pressure on those who participate in the Mass to do so oftener.

Table 8 shows a direct positive relationship between social class and the reception of Holy Communion. The differences between the first three classes from low to high stand out clearly. The difference is only 3% between the s.c. and the c.g. class.

TABLE 8

## RECEPTION OF HOLY COMMUNION

ATTENDANCE	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Regularly at Mass	53 %	63 %	74 %	77 %
Not regularly at Mass	47 %	37 %	26 %	23 %

Taken as a whole, ritual involvement is directly and positively related to social class. The s.h.s. class has the smallest percentage of its members involved in the church ritual, as compared with the h.s.g. and s.c. classes, which has a higher percentage. The c.g. class has the highest proportion of its members involved in Church ritual.

The type of indicators used to measure the cultic dimension of religiosity was organizational participation, both in terms of membership in parish societies and financial support given to church and other religious causes like the missions, "Project: Renewal", etc. No distinction was made between those societies whose primary goal is spiritual, like personal sanctification, and those that are mainly social. As Table 9 indicates, here again the s.h.s. class is least involved, with only 47% having membership in one church organization or more.

TABLE 9

## MEMBERSHIP IN CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

MEMBERSHIP	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
In one/or more Organizations	47 %	63 %	61 %	64 %
In None	53 %	37 %	39 %	36 %

The rest of the classes vary little among themselves. The h.s.g. class has 63%, the s.c. 61%—2% less than the lower middle, and the c.g. class 64% of its members in one or more parish organizations. Table 10 shows that this pattern of relationship holds equally good also when financial contribution to church and other religious causes is considered in absolute terms. The s.h.s. class gives the least, the h.g. class gives more than the s.c., and the c.g. class gives the highest amount.

TABLE 10

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION GIVEN TO CHURCH  
AND OTHER RELIGIOUS CAUSES  
IN ABSOLUTE AMOUNTS

AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTION	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Less than \$ 200.	53 %	44 %	44 %	29 %
\$200. -- \$300.	37 %	34 %	39 %	29 %
\$400. -- or more	9 %	22 %	18 %	41 %

But when the gross amount of contribution given to their Church by different social classes is compared in terms of the proportion of income given, a different pattern emerges as can be seen in Table 11.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF INCOME GIVEN TO CHURCH  
AND OTHER RELIGIOUS CAUSES

PERCENTAGE	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Less than 3%	71 %	74 %	78 %	72 %
3% or more	29 %	26	22	28

The h.s.g. class has a higher percentage of those who give 3% of their income or more, than the s.c. class. This is consistent with the findings with regard to financial contribution in absolute amounts. But the highest percentage of those who give most generously is found in the s.h.s. class. One can even make a case for the greater generosity of the s.h.s. class by the fact that 16% of the s.h.s. class give 5% or more of their income to the Church, while only 12% of the c.g. class do so. In terms of the financial sacrifice involved in helping the church, therefore, the s.h.s. class members lead all the rest who are better-off than they in terms of income. Their contribution represents the "widow's mite" in the Gospel of Mark.

The religious practices used so far as indicators to measure the cultic dimension of religiosity were all related to the parish community, inasmuch as they were performed by individuals as members of their parishes. We shall now probe into family devotions or practices. Two items were used to measure the religious involvement of Catholics as members of their families: the rosary and the saying of grace at meals. Surprisingly, only 14% of the whole sample were found to be praying the rosary sometime during the week. Only 3% prayed it daily. Since the figures were too small for any statistically valid evaluation, the data are not tabulated for comparison among the different classes. Saying the grace at meals remains a rather common practice among Catholics. When the data were organized to find out the extent to which this practice obtained in different classes, no patterned relationship emerged. The percentages of those who engaged in this practice ranged from 51% to 73% but without any consistency. But when the frequency of the practice was compared, the pattern seen in Table 12 appeared. Fifty-three per cent of the c.g. class observe this practice once a day or oftener. Next comes the s.h.s. class,

and then the h.s.g. and the s.c. class in decreasing order.

TABLE 12

GRACE AT MEALS

FREQUENCY	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Less than once a day	62 %	67 %	72 %	47 %
Once a day or more	38 %	33 %	28 %	53 %
TOTAL	(13)	(15)	(36)	(45)

Religious devotions are not practiced by individuals only as members of their parish communities or families. Each individual has his own private devotions and practices. Questions were asked on a series of items regarding private devotions like visiting the Blessed Sacrament, reading the Scriptures, etc. The latter does not seem to be a common practice among Catholics. Only 16% of the whole sample said that they read Scriptures sometime during the week. On most of these items, social class did not seem to have any influence. A striking pattern, however, stood out with regard to prayer and penance. Table 13 shows the prayer habits of different social classes. It should be noted that of those asked as to whether they engaged in private prayer, 15% answered in the negative. These did not appear in the table. Among those who answered in the positive, the frequency of prayer appears directly and positively related to social class. While only 22% of the s.h.s. class and 29% of the h.s.g. class pray thrice a day or more, 41% of the s.c. class and 43% of the c.g. class do so.

TABLE 13

## PRIVATE PRAYER

FREQUENCY	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Once a day or less	50 %	32 %	33 %	36 %
Twice a day	28 %	39 %	26 %	21 %
Thrice a day or more	22 %	29 %	40 %	43 %
TOTAL	(18)	(28)	(42)	(58)

The same relationship also holds true with regard to the practice of penance. Recent changes in the regulations regarding Lenten fast and abstinence have reduced the obligatory practice of penance considerably. But the faithful are urged to use their own discretion and to choose the kind of penance that would be most beneficial to their spiritual welfare. Table 14 shows that the practice of penance in the strict sense is directly and positively related to social class.

TABLE 14

## PRACTICE OF PENANCE IN LENT

	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Those who practiced Penance	39 %	47 %	49 %	51 %
Those who did not practice Penance	61 %	52 %	51 %	49 %

The relationship emerges clearer when those who practice penance or substituted some other spiritual activity like participating in the Mass, etc., were related to social class, as can be seen in Table 15. The proportion of those, who either practice penance or engage in some other religious practice they find more meaningful and spiritually beneficial, ranges from 44% to 73%, consistently increasing as one moves higher up the social rank.

TABLE 15

PRACTICE OF PENANCE OR SUBSTITUTE  
FOR PENANCE IN LENT

PRACTICED	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Either of the two	44 %	56 %	63 %	73 %
Neither of the two	56 %	44 %	37 %	27 %

Catholic ritual is not limited to the Mass and the Sacraments; it also extends to sacramentals, by means of which the Church sanctifies the ordinary things of life, calls God's blessings on the faithful, and reminds them in a practical and vivid way of the truths they ought to live by.<sup>87</sup> Holy water, blessed candles, palms, ashes, and statues are some examples of sacramentals. The questions on these items were not meant to find out how often or how much the respondents used them, but how important they considered them in their religious life. The answers tabulated in Table 16 show an overall direct inverse relationship between social class and the proportion of those who attach too much importance to sacramentals. The only exception appears in

<sup>87</sup> James Killgallon and Gerard Weber, *Life In Christ* (Chicago: 1958) p. 219.



TABLE 16

PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO CONSIDER SACRAMENTALS  
AS OF MUCH IMPORTANCE IN THEIR LIVES<sup>(a)</sup>

SACRAMENTALS	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		C.G.
		H.S.G.	S.C.	
Holy Water	48 %	33 %	24 %	12 %
Blessed Candles	41 %	25 %	19 %	7 %
Blessed Palms	43 %	23 %	7 %	13 %
Blessed Ashes	47 %	41 %	22 %	17 %
Statues	45 %	43 %	29 %	24 %

(a) The proportion of those who attached "some," "a little," or "no importance" to sacramentals, does not appear in this table.

the case of blessed palms. More of the c.g. class consider them much more important than the s.c. class.

One should clearly bear in mind the distinction between considering a religious item or activity as important and the actual use of it. The fact that there is an overall inverse relationship between the social class and the number of those who consider sacramentals as of much importance for their lives does not necessarily mean that this relationship also holds good with regard to the actual use of that religious item or involvement in that religious activity. We have seen that ritual involvement in terms of Mass attendance and reception of Holy Communion is directly related to social class. This is no evidence, however, to support the hypothesis that ritual involvement is given higher importance by those who are socio-economically better off than by those who are worse off. It is quite possible that attending Mass once a

week is more important in the eyes of a working or lower class individual for his or her spiritual life than everyday Mass attendance is in the eyes of an upper or middle class individual for his or her spiritual life. And the actual influence of ritual involvement on one's life is another thing altogether. In pure theory all these three should correlate. But in actual life other variables intervene, social class being one of them, and modify the relationships among the above three variables in variety of ways. More will be discussed about this problem in the interpretation of the data.

We shall now summarize the findings of the study with regard to the cultic dimension. The cultic dimension was measured in terms of four types of indicators; ritual involvement, organizational involvement, family devotions, and private devotions.

Ritual involvement was found to be directly and positively related to social class when measured in terms of the reception of Holy Communion. In terms of Mass attendance, both when obliged and not obliged, the same relationship held good only when the h.s.g. and s.c. classes were combined into one category. A little ambiguity appeared when each of the four classes was taken singly and compared with the others. The differences, however, were slight with regard to the Mass attendance on days of obligation among the three higher classes. When Mass attendance on non-obligatory days was considered, the s.h.s. and h.s.g. classes were found to be closer to each other on the one hand and the s.c. and the c.g. were found to be closer to each other on the other hand, the c.g. class trailing the s.c. class. In all cases, the s.h.s. class was the least involved in the church ritual.

Organizational involvement was found to have an overall positive relationship to social class, both in terms of membership in parish societies

and financial contribution to church and other religious causes. The h.s.g. class led the s.c. class in both cases. The financial contribution was considered in absolute amounts. But when the proportion of income given to church by different classes was compared, the pattern changed. The s.h.s. class came first, the c.g. class next, and then the h.s.g. and s.c. classes, the h.s.g. leading the s.c. class.

The relationship between family devotions, measured by the practice of saying grace at meals, was bi-modal. The c.g. class took the lead followed by the s.h.s. class, the h.s.g. class, and the s.c. class, respectively.

Private devotions were measured by many indicators. But only two manifested a definite pattern of relationship: prayer and penance. Both bore a direct positive relationship to social class.

In a nutshell, the cultic dimension of religiosity was found to bear an overall direct positive relationship to social class, with a few exceptions indicated earlier.

There was no effort made in the questionnaire to find out how important the respondents thought the different religious activities covered by the cultic dimension were for their religious life, except in the case of sacramentals. With regard to these, an overall direct inverse relationship was found between social class and the proportion of people who considered sacramentals of much importance for their spiritual life.

### THE CREEDAL DIMENSION

To measure the creedal dimension, the official Catholic teaching was proposed in a series of statements and the commitment to these beliefs was graded in negative terms; i.e., in terms of "doubt" regarding the beliefs. The respondent was asked to check one of the following categories which corresponded to a particular attitude towards the belief: no doubt, which meant that the respondent firmly believed in the doctrine contained in the statement and had no doubts at all about it; some doubt, which meant that the respondent had some difficulties about the doctrine, but yet felt that he or she accepted it; much doubt, which indicated that the respondent believed the doctrine sometimes, but had serious doubts about it at other times; and finally, complete doubt, which meant that the respondents had ceased to believe in the doctrine altogether. The degree of doubt ranged from "no doubt" to "complete doubt;" or, expressed in terms of belief, from total belief to total unbelief.

The first two and the last two categories were combined since, in spite of certain differences, they indicated the presence or absence of faith. It is well to bear in mind here that we are measuring the faith content of the respondent; i.e., that which one believes and not that by which one believes, both of which have traditionally been labelled "faith." The concepts are closely related, but distinct. The former has certain limitations in being the indicator of the latter. A higher degree of faith in a few religious truths may well reflect a deeper involvement in religion than faith in a multiplicity of doctrines.

Table 17 shows the relationship between social class and belief in God's existence, the Trinity, and the Divine causality of the universe.

TABLE 17  
BELIEF IN GOD

	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"God exists and in Him there are three Persons."				
<u>Degree of Doubt:</u>				
"None or Some"	100 %	94 %	95 %	96 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	-	6 %	5 %	4 %
"God created this universe."				
<u>Degree of Doubt:</u>				
"None or Some"	100 %	93 %	97 %	96 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	-	7 %	3 %	4 %

<sup>(a)</sup> Actually none in the sample have "Complete" doubt about these doctrines.

All respondents in the s.h.s. class accept this doctrine. The other classes have small proportion of those who do not. The differences between these classes are negligible.

The most fundamental belief that distinguishes Christians from others who believe in God is their belief in Jesus Christ. The Catholic Church teaches that Jesus is true God and true Man, and that the events of his life inseparably connected with the work of redemption are historically true. Table 18 indicates that there are some Catholics who do not accept this teaching. As in the preceding table, the s.h.s. class represents the highest degree of belief. The c.g. class has 9% of those who do not accept the

TABLE 18BELIEF IN JESUS CHRIST

	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	<u>S.H.S.</u>	<u>H.S.G.</u>	<u>S.C.</u>	<u>C.G.</u>
"Jesus Christ is True God and True Man."				
<u>Degree of Doubt:</u>				
"None or Some"	100 %	97 %	96 %	95 %
"Much or Complete"	-	3 %	4 %	5(a)
"Jesus Christ truly suffered, died rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge all men on the last day."				
<u>Degree of Doubt:</u>				
"None or Some"	100 %	97 %	96 %	91 %
"Much or Complete"	-	3 %	4 %	9(a)

(a)  
Of these 3% have complete doubt.

historicity of one or more redemptive events of Christ's life.

The perpetual virginity of Mary is a traditional belief in the Church, explicitly taught and strongly defended from the very early beginnings of her history. Table 19 shows, while all in the s.h.s. class accept this doctrine, the percentage of those who do not increases as one moves up the social class--5%, 9%, and 16% of the h.s.g., s.c., and c.g. class, respectively, do not accept this doctrine.

TABLE 19

## "MARY THE MOTHER OF JESUS WAS ALWAYS A VIRGIN"

DEGREE OF <sup>Doubt</sup> <del>Belief</del>	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	100 %	95 %	91 %	84 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	-	5 %	9 %	16 %

(a) 4% both in the s.c. and c.g. classes have "complete" doubt.

Eschatalogy is an integral part of the Catholic Faith. The Catholic Church teaches that death is not the end of man, and that heaven and hell to either of which men will ultimately go are eternal. Table 20 shows the percentages of respondents in each class who believe or do not believe in the church's doctrine. Although all respondents in the s.h.s. class believe in life after death, 10% of them do not believe in the existence of an eternal heaven and hell. In the s.c. and c.g. classes, there is a higher proportion of those who do not accept the existence of eternal heaven and hell than those who do not accept life after death. But this pattern reverses with regard to the h.s.g. class.

TABLE 20

## BELIEF IN ESCHATOLOGY

	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
<hr/>				
"There is life after death"				
<u>Degree of <sup>Doubt:</sup> Belief:</u>				
"None or Some"	100 %	83 %	89 %	91 %
"Much or Complete"	-	17 %	11 %	9 %
<hr/>				
"Heaven and hell exist, and will last forever."				
<u>Degree of Doubt:</u>				
"None or Some"	90 %	85 %	84 %	86 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	10 %	15 %	16 %	14 %

(a) About half of all those who fall in this category have "complete" doubt.

Miracles are closely associated with the ministry of Christ and are accepted by the Catholic Church as God's signature attesting the authenticity of His message. A substantial part of the Gospels consist of narratives of Christ's miracles. In the canonization of saints in the church, miracles play an important role. Table 21 indicates that the possibility of miracles is not universally accepted by Catholics.



TABLE 21

**"TRUE MIRACLES ARE POSSIBLE EVEN TODAY"**

DEGREE OF DOUBT	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	100 %	83 %	84 %	84 %
"Much or Complete"	-	13 %	16 %	16 %

While all respondents in the s.h.s. class believe in the possibility of miracles, 17% of the h.s.g. class, and 16% each of the s.c. and c.g. classes do not believe or at least seriously doubt about it.

In the Apostles Creed, the church proclaims her belief in the Communion of Saints. The doctrine implies that the souls in heaven constituting the "triumphant church", the souls in purgatory constituting the "suffering church" and the church on earth, i.e., the "militant church" are all united mystically, and can mutually help each other. The intercession of saints is a part of this doctrine. Table 22 shows a direct inverse relationship between social class and the proportion of those who believe in the doctrine of intercession of saints.

TABLE 22

**"SAINTS INTERCEDE FOR US IN HEAVEN IN A SPECIAL WAY  
IF WE PRAY TO THEM"**

DEGREE OF DOUBT	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	93 %	90 %	86 %	81 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	7 %	10 %	14 %	19 %

<sup>(a)</sup> 7% in the s.c. class and 11% in the c.g. class had "complete" doubt.

Early in the first chapter, it was pointed out that Catholics believe that theirs is the church that Christ founded. Notwithstanding their ecumenical concern, the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council asserted this truth in no uncertain terms in the Council documents. But some Catholics do not see eye-to-eye with them as is clear from Table 23. The proportion of those who do not accept this teaching ranges from 13% in the s.h.s. class to 23% in the s.c. class; with 15% in the h.s.g. class and 19% in the c.g. class, respectively.

TABLE 23

"JESUS FOUNDED ONLY ONE CHURCH - THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH"

DEGREE OF DOUBT	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	87 %	85 %	77 %	81 %
"Much of Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	13 %	15 %	23 %	19 %

<sup>(a)</sup> 3% in s.h.s. class; 7% each in h.s.g. and c.g. classes; and 14% in the s.c. have "complete" doubt.

The doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope was defined by the First Vatican Council. Papal infallibility implies that the Pope, when he speaks "ex cathedra" on matters of Faith and Morals, cannot err. And definition of a doctrine by an ecumenical council is the most solemn form of proclaiming a religious truth and attaching to it the highest degree of certainty. No Catholic in good conscience can reject a defined truth. But as a matter of fact, as can be seen in Table 24, there are Catholics who do not submit to

the doctrine of papal infallibility.

TABLE 24

"THE POPE IS INFALLIBLE WHEN HE SPEAKS UNDER  
CERTAIN CONDITIONS OF FAITH AND MORALS"

DEGREE OF DOUBT	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or some"	81 %	80 %	75 %	73 %
"Much or Complete"(a)	19 %	20 %	25 %	27 %

(a) 3% of the s.h.s. class; 5% of the h.s.g. class; 9% of the s.c. class, and 14% of the c.g. class have "complete" doubt.

On this doctrine again, lack of faith is inversely related to social class.

The Catholic Church has always defended the indissolubility of marriage as a matter of Divine law over which even the Pope has no power. Divorce is becoming increasingly common in the United States, and its impact on the Catholic Church can indirectly be seen in Table 25, as reflected in the proportion of the Catholics who seriously call in question, or totally reject the doctrine of the indissolubility of Christian marriage. A little less than one-third of the whole sample does not subscribe to the doctrine.

TABLE 25"CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE IS INDISSOLUBLE"

DEGREE OF DOUBT	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	72 %	67 %	72 %	69 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	28 %	33 %	28 %	31 %

(a) Percentage of those who have "complete" doubt ranges from 9 to 12 consistently increasing by 1% as one moved higher up the class.

Finally, Table 26 shows the attitude of Catholics towards the most controversial issue of the day: the morality of the use of artificial methods for birth control. It should be remembered that the data were gathered prior

TABLE 26"IT IS IMMORAL TO USE ARTIFICIAL  
MEANS OF BIRTH CONTROL"

DEGREE OF DOUBT	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
"None or Some"	59 %	59 %	54 %	40 %
"Much or Complete" <sup>(a)</sup>	41 %	41 %	46 %	60 %

(a) Percentage of those who have "complete" doubt increases with class ranging from 28 to 37 per cent.

to the encyclical, Humanae Vitae, which reiterated the traditional doctrine of the church solemnly taught by Pius XI in his encyclical, Casti Connubii. A slight majority of the respondents in all social classes, with the exception of c.g. class, accept the traditional doctrine. The proportion of those who do not accept the teaching, however, is significantly high.

We can now summarize the findings on the relationship between social class and religiosity as expressed in the creedal dimension as follows. With regard to the most fundamental beliefs, e.g., those referring to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and life after death, there lies a clear-cut difference between the s.h.s. class and the rest of the social classes. While all respondents in the s.h.s. class accept these beliefs, small proportions in the other classes do not, but with no consistent pattern of relationship that can be applied to all beliefs, and with small differences among themselves.

As for the other beliefs, which can be called less basic in terms of their de facto acceptance by Catholics, the s.h.s. class has the highest degree of belief, and an overall inverse direct relationship can be found between social class and the degree of belief. This becomes more evident when the categories "much doubt" and "complete doubt" are separately considered. The higher the class, the greater is the proportion of those who place themselves in the "complete doubt" category.

In short, there is an overall direct inverse relationship between social class and the creedal dimension of religious involvement.

THE INTELLECTUAL DIMENSION

The intellectual dimension was measured in terms of the knowledge of the respondents pertaining to religious matters and the amount of exposure they had to religious information.

The test for religious knowledge covered many areas: liturgy, the Bible, ecclesiastical law, church history, and theology. Surprisingly, the s.h.s. class scored better than the h.s.g. class. This was an exception in an otherwise direct positive relationship between social class and religious knowledge, as can be gathered from Table 27.

TABLE 27

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

SCORE (a)	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
1--3	16 %	17 %	5 %	1 %
4--6	47 %	55 %	25 %	28 %
7--9	34 %	25 %	68 %	49 %
10--12	3 %	3 %	2 %	21 %

(a) Twelve questions were asked to measure the religious knowledge of the respondents. Each right answer was given one score. Thus, the score could range from 0 to 12.

As for the exposure of the respondents to religious information, an overall positive relationship can be asserted. The s.c. class led all the others, both in "listening to religious radio programs" and "watching religious TV programs." With regard to the reading of religious books, however, this is not clear. While 21% of the s.c. class read two religious

books in 1967, 28% of the c.g. did the same. But 33% of the s.c. class read three religious books or more; whereas 30% of the c.g. class did so. It should be noted, however, that the data in Table 28 with regard to the reading of religious books do not represent the proportion of those who never read any book in 1967. When this is taken into consideration, the s.c. class seems to be most exposed to religious information. The data (not presented here) indicate that 75% of the s.c. class read at least one religious book in 1967; whereas 63% of the h.s.g. class, 61% of the c.g. class, and only 37% of the s.h.s. class did so.

TABLE 28

EXPOSURE TO RELIGIOUS INFORMATION

IN 1967: NUMBER BOOKS READ:	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
One - - - - -	50 %	50 %	47 %	41 %
Two - - - - -	33 %	27 %	21 %	28 %
Three or more - - - - -	17 %	23 %	33 %	30 %
TOTAL	(12)	(26)	(43)	(46)
Mean Number of Catholic Periodicals read <sup>(a)</sup> - - - - -	.22	.36	.44	.55
<u>Listening to Religious Radio Programs:</u>				
Sometimes during a month - - -	22 %	27 %	32 %	28 %
Never - - - - -	78 %	73 %	68 %	72 %
<u>Watching Religious Television Programs:</u>				
Sometimes during a month - - -	28 %	29 %	37 %	32 %
Never - - - - -	72 %	71 %	63 %	68 %

(a) The New World, The Chicago Archdiocesan Weekly, was not included in this, since the parish subscribes for it for the parishioners. It is the most commonly read periodical among the sample and raises the mean number of periodicals read to one or more in all social classes.

With regard to reading Catholic periodicals, there is a direct relationship between social class and the mean number of religious periodicals read.

Briefly, the s.h.s. class is least exposed to religious information. Among the other classes, the s.c. class on the whole is most exposed to religious information.

Thus, to summarize the findings on the relationship between social class and the intellectual dimension of religiosity, we can say that there is an overall positive relationship between the two variables.

### The Experiential Dimension

In the chapter on methodology, a variety of religious experiences were listed. With the exception of the miraculous experience, which was found to bear a direct inverse relationship to social class as shown in Table 29, no other type of religious experience showed any pattern when all the four categories denoting frequency were taken into account in the analysis.

TABLE 29

#### MIRACULOUS EXPERIENCE

FREQUENCY	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Many times	45 %	30 %	26 %	23 %
A few times	26 %	35 %	25 %	29 %
Once or Twice	16 %	16 %	20 %	16 %
Never	13 %	19 %	29 %	32 %



But when the four categories were collapsed into two, namely those who had religious experience at least once, and those who never had it, a kind of pattern showed itself. The s.h.s. class generally represented the smallest proportion of those who never had any religious experience, as can be deduced from Table 30. But again this was not so in every case. In fact, with regard to the revelational experience, the s.h.s. class represented the highest proportion of those who never had it. Ambiguity also appeared in the case of ecstatic experience.

As for the other classes, there was more ambiguity than consistency. Each type of religious experience showed a different relationship to social class.

TABLE 30  
RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

TYPE AND FREQUENCY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE:	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
<b>"An awareness of God's presence and my nothingness before Him."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	100 %	90 %	89 %	87 %
Never - - - - -	--	10 %	11 %	13 %
<b>"A feeling of intimacy with God and of Faith and Trust in Him."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	97 %	90 %	89 %	90 %
Never - - - - -	3 %	10 %	11 %	10 %
<b>"A conviction of being saved in Christ."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	79 %	58 %	66 %	64 %
Never - - - - -	21 %	42 %	34 %	36 %
<b>"An awareness of being punished by God for certain sins I committed."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	67 %	65 %	55 %	57 %
Never - - - - -	33 %	35 %	45 %	43 %
<b>"A conviction that I was enlightened by God on some particular issue."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	55 %	62 %	56 %	59 %
Never - - - - -	45 %	38 %	44 %	41 %
<b>"A feeling of unusual joy in God."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	87 %	87 %	84 %	93 %
Never - - - - -	13 %	13 %	16 %	7 %
<b>"A strong feeling of gratefulness to God."</b>				
At least once - - - - -	97%	97 %	93 %	97 %
Never - - - - -	3%	3 %	7 %	3 %

The situations in which the respondents had their religious experiences have not been tabulated. The following remarks should suffice to give a rough idea. Mass and Holy Communion were invariably mentioned by almost all respondents as situations in which their religious experiences occurred. This was especially true of the confirming, salvational, and ecstatic experiences. The other liturgical context connected with religious experiences were those rare occasions like the First Communion, weddings, and funeral services.

Certain non-liturgical situations appeared to be as much conducive to religious experience as the liturgical ones mentioned above. Those that were frequently mentioned were child-birth, sickness, accident, and success in one's undertakings.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the analysis, one can still deduce an overall inverse relationship between social class and the experiential dimension of religiosity. The main difference lies, as already seen in some other cases earlier between the s.h.s. class and the other classes.

### The Consequential Dimension

The consequential dimension of religiosity refers to man's dealings with man in contrast to the other dimensions which have to do with man's dealings with God generally. Glock looks upon this dimension as a consequence of the other dimensions of religiosity. For the present, we shall consider the consequential dimension as independent and see if it bears any relationship to social class.

To uncover the consequential dimension of religiosity, the respondents were given concrete cases in which they had to make decisions. These were

listed after each case. The respondent could either choose one of them, or add one of his or her own if it differed from the ones given. We shall go through each of these cases and then present the findings.

The first case had to do with how a Catholic should react when his neighbor is in need. The concrete case given was as follows:

"Mr. Murphy is a Catholic, not very rich but has enough of everything. He is planning to buy a new suit for Christmas, not because he needs one, but because it is Christmas. He learns that his next door neighbor--who has too small an income for the size of his family--does not go to church because he has no decent clothes to wear. The only money Mr. Murphy can spare is the amount set aside for his new suit. What do you think Mr. Murphy should do?"

The answers of the respondents are given in Table 31. One can notice certain trends in the Table. The s.h.s. class has the smallest proportion of those who think that Mr. Murphy should ignore his neighbor. The proportion of

TABLE 31

REACTIONS TOWARDS A MAN IN NEED

ANSWERS:	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Just ignore him - - - - -	3 %	11 %	9 %	10 %
Pray for him - - - - -	33 %	24 %	15 %	9 %
Give him all/or half the money to buy a suit - - - - -	37 %	39 %	43 %	43 %
Other - - - - -	27 %	26 %	32 %	39 %

those who think that Mr. Murphy should pray for his neighbor is inversely related to the social class, while the proportion of those who propose financial help is positively related to social class. The respondents in the "other" category had a variety of solutions: lending money rather than giving it, getting a better job, giving him an old suit, instructing him about responsible parent-hood, etc. Generally, these answers tended to say: "Let Mr. Murphy help his neighbor help himself and at the minimum cost to self." It should be noted that the majority in all classes thought that Mr. Murphy should help his neighbor financially.

Asked what they would do in the above situation, almost all the respondents chose the course of action they had prescribed for Mr. Murphy.

The Catholic Church is becoming more and more conscious of her social responsibility. While great stress is laid in building the parish community, the faithful are made aware that their concern should not limit itself to the parish boundaries but should extend to the whole diocese, and further to the Universal Church. The next two cases were meant to uncover the sense of responsibility Catholics feel for their less privileged brethern in the church. The first one was presented as follows:

"Imagine your parish is not in debt and that your Pastor announces on the Sunday after Christmas that your parish has \$25,000. left from its annual budget, and proposes the following ways of spending it. How would you vote? (Check one)

The proposed alternatives and the proportion of respondents in each class who chose them are found in Table 32. Here again the s.h.s. class stands apart from the rest. None in the s.h.s. class wants to spend the money exclusively on his own parish, while small proportions of other classes would like to do so. The s.h.s. class also leads the others both in choosing to

send all or 50% of the money to the missions or the poor parishes of the diocese. The "other" category here represented those who specified other ways of spending the money for the welfare of their own parish.

TABLE 32

WAYS OF SPENDING THE PARISH SURPLUS MONEY

WAYS OF SPENDING PARISH SURPLUS MONEYS:	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
To air-condition the Church.	—	8 %	7 %	8 %
Donate the whole amount to the poor parishes, or to the missions.	29 %	18 %	24 %	18 %
Give half to poor parishes, or the missions, and spend the rest to improve their own Church.	71 %	59 %	54 %	59 %
Other	—	15 %	15 %	15 %

In all classes, the majority of respondents would vote for spending half of the amount on their own parish and send the balance to the poor parishes of the diocese or the missions.

Asked what they thought their pastor expected them to vote for, the vast majority repeated their own choice. There was less consistency, though, than that found in our first case between the decisions the respondents thought Mr. Murphy should make and the decision they would make if they were in his shoes.

With a view to giving concrete expression to the concern Catholics should have for others, a proposal has been made that every diocese should donate to the missions at least 5% of the money it spends on new projects. The respondents were asked if they accepted this proposal. Table 33 shows that the

majority of the sample did, the s.h.s. class representing the highest proportion of those who accepted the proposal. What the respondents thought about their bishop's attitude towards the proposal differed only slightly from their own.

TABLE 33

ATTITUDE TOWARD HELPING THE MISSIONS

RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSAL:	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS:		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
YES - - - - -	85 %	68 %	62 %	73 %
NO - - - - -	15 %	32 %	38 %	27 %

Giving to the missions or to the poor parishes of the diocese has a direct religious connotation, but not so regarding foreign aid. The Catholics in the sample were asked if the United States should financially aid developing countries? The majority of the sample answered in the positive. As Table 34 shows the pattern of relationship changed from the preceding ones.

TABLE 34

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOREIGN AID

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOREIGN AID:	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS:		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Approve - - - - -	60 %	49 %	66 %	73 %
Do not approve- - - -	40 %	51 %	36 %	27 %

The c.g. class had the highest proportion of those who approved foreign aid. The s.c. class came next, followed by the s.h.s. class, and the h.s.g. class, respectively.

Certain differences appeared among the social classes regarding what they thought should be the primary goal of foreign aid, as can be seen in Table 35.

TABLE 35

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF FOREIGN AID

	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		C.G.
		H.S.G.	S.C.	
To gain more influence for the U.S.A. in the World.	--	4 %	--	--
To fight Communism and protect this Country.	44 %	35 %	29 %	28 %
To safeguard the freedom of developing Countries.	20 %	17 %	37 %	25 %
To fulfill our duty as a rich Christian Nation.	24 %	30 %	26 %	40 %
Other	12 %	13 %	8 %	7 %

The s.h.s. class and the h.s.g. class represented the highest proportions of those who thought the primary purpose of foreign aid should be to battle communism. For the s.c. class, the freedom of the developing countries seemed to be the primary goal of foreign aid. The c.g. class considered it a Christian duty.

Brotherhood and equality among all men irrespective of their creed, color, and nationality derives directly from the common fatherhood of God. One area in which the extent to which this belief is lived is manifested in inter-racial relations. To measure the attitude of the white Catholics towards the



Negroes, the respondents were asked what they would do if a Negro family of their own social status moved into their block. They were also asked what reaction best reflected the Christian attitude. The answers to both these questions are tabulated side by side in Table 36. We shall call the first personal attitude (P.A.), and the second christian attitude (C.A.) and see how these compare between themselves and relate to social class.

TABLE 36

RACIAL ATTITUDE

ATTITUDES	S.H.S.		H.S.G.		S.C.		C.G.	
	P.A.	C.A.	P.A.	C.A.	P.A.	C.A.	P.A.	C.A.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I will be happy to have them and let them know this.	29	81	27	83	31	79	30	81
I won't mind having them, but I will not have anything to do with them.	3	--	5	--	4	2	15	--
I will try to get them out of there.	3	7	-	9	9	4	2	2
Frankly, I do not know what I will do.	61	6	51	6	29	7	31	9
Other	3	6	17	6	27	8	22	9

One can notice the glaring inconsistency between what the respondents think reflects the Christian attitude, and what they actually do. While about 80% of all social classes admit that to be happy to have a Negro family in the block and let him know it best reflects the Christian attitudes, only about 30% in each class are prepared to do so. Another striking feature in the data is the state of uncertainty which is inversely related to social class. The proportion of "uncertain" respondents, those, that is, who do not know what they

will do if a Negro family comes into their block, ranges from 30% in the s.c. class to 61% in the s.h.s. class. The category "other" generally represents conditional attitudes expressed in statements like: "I will be happy to have them if they behave like the rest of my neighbors," or "As long as my other neighbors do not care I do not mind having them," etc.

In the last few years, rapid change has characterized the Catholic Church. Catholics have reacted to this in a variety of ways. While some are upset because there is too much change, others are impatient with the pace of change. They want more of it, and soon. To find out the attitudes of different social classes towards change, the following question was asked:

"Do you think that the Church should not hesitate to bring about changes in the liturgy, etc., when she feels that these changes are necessary for the fulfillment of her mission, even though some people get upset about them?"

Table 37 shows the pattern of the responses in each social class. Eighty-seven per cent of the s.h.s. class have a positive attitude towards change in the Church.

TABLE 37

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGE

ATTITUDE	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Positive - - - - -	87 %	67 %	84 %	78 %
Negative - - - - -	13 %	33 %	16 %	22 %

The percentages of those who opt for change declines to 84% in the s.c. class, 78% in the c.g. class and to 67% in the h.s.g. class.

One of the important questions discussed in the Second Vatican Council was the question of collegiality. The repercussions of this have been felt in every institution in the church at every level. The respondents were given a situation of common occurrence in any parish, namely that of building a school, and were asked what type of decision-making process they would prefer to determine how the school should be built. Table 38 shows that the majority of the sample want to participate in the decision-making process. However, as

TABLE 38

CHOICE OF DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES  
IN THE PARISH BY CLASS

DECISION MAKING PROCESSES	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Let the Pastor alone, or together with the Assistant priests and architect decide.	13 %	13 %	9 %	12 %
Let a committee of experts elected from parish, or on their advice the parishioners decide.	55 %	62 %	63 %	62 %
Let the parishioners voice their opinion, but let Pastor make final decision.	32 %	26 %	28 %	26 %

compared with the other classes, the s.h.s. class has the smallest percentage of those who are collegially or democratically inclined, although even here the majority are so inclined.

The final case presented was about the War in Vietnam. The respondents were asked the following question:

"While the bombing of North Vietnam was going on, suppose the Pope and the Bishops of the United States had come out with the statement that the War in Vietnam was "immoral" (i.e., that it did more harm than good to all parties involved), and had requested the President to reduce the bombing to the minimum; which of the following would have been your course of action?" (Check one)

Table 39 presents the alternatives and the proportion of the respondents under each class who chose the different alternatives. The majority in all social classes chose to follow their conscience, except in the s.h.s. class, where a plurality favored conscience.

TABLE 39

CHOICE OF LEADERSHIP IN A CONFLICT SITUATION

PROPOSED ALTERNATIVES	SOCIAL CLASS			
	S.H.S.	H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
I would have supported the Pope and the Bishops of the U.S.A. against the President.	17 %	11 %	7 %	4 %
I would have supported the President against the Pope and U.S. Bishops.	36 %	18 %	28 %	21 %
I would have made my own judgment on the basis of information available, and followed my own conscience.	47 %	71 %	65 %	75 %

The s.h.s. class had the smallest proportion of its members in this category, and the greatest proportion in the other two categories compared to the other classes, where supporting the President or the Pope and the U.S. Bishops were the choices.

Early in this section, by asking the respondents how they would react in given situations, an effort was made to uncover the concern of Catholics for

others. In the same direction, another question was posed in terms of the interest of Catholics in their parish, etc. The results are tabulated in Table 40. One can notice that a higher proportion of the s.h.s. class are

TABLE 40

INTEREST IN ONE'S PARISH, COMMUNITY, ETC.<sup>(a)</sup>

OBJECTS OF INTEREST	S.H.S.	SOCIAL CLASS		
		H.S.G.	S.C.	C.G.
Parish - - - - -	47 %	34 %	32 %	40 %
Community - - - - -	41 %	34 %	28 %	41 %
Country - - - - -	78 %	68 %	80 %	80 %
Church-at-large - - - - -	78 %	37 %	46 %	49 %
Other Countries - - - - -	12 %	5 %	9 %	13 %

(a) Only the percentages of those who showed "much" interest in their parish, community, etc., have been tabulated.

"much" interested in their parish and especially in the church-at-large. Their country emerges as the main object of interest in all social classes (with the s.h.s. class, this is tied with the Universal Church for the first place.)

The h.s.g. and s.c. classes reflect a general lack of interest compared to the s.h.s. and c.g. classes.

The findings on the consequential dimension of religiosity have shown certain patterns of relationship to social class. The meaning of this relationship will be unfolded in the interpretation of the findings.

### Inter-Dimensional Relationships

In this section, one variable--namely organizational involvement--which seemed crucially important in determining the religious involvement of Catholics within each class will be related to selected items of each dimension of religiosity.<sup>87</sup> Past studies have indicated that membership in church organizations is an important mediating variable raising the degree of religious involvement in each class and attenuating the inter-class differences. We shall see to what extent this holds good with regard to the different dimensions of religiosity.

Table 41 shows the relationship between social class and a few selected items of religious involvement on the cultic dimension of religiosity. One can easily notice that those who are members of some church organization or other generally have a better overall record of performance with regard to Mass attendance, reception of Holy Communion, saying the grace at meals and private prayer.

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<sup>87</sup> This section was to contain an analysis of the mutual relationships among the dimensions of religiosity. But since a collective measure for each dimension could not be obtained through the computer, the idea was abandoned.

TABLE 41

ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND SOME ITEMS  
OF THE CULTIC DIMENSION

ITEMS	<u>S.H.S.</u>		<u>H.S.G.</u>		<u>S.C.</u>		<u>C.G.</u>	
	O.I*	NOI**	O.I*	NOI**	O.I*	NOI**	O.I*	NOI**
	<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>	
Regular Mass attendance on Days of Obligation.	93	71	100	73	91	86	96	81
Attending Mass sometimes, when not obliged.	47	41	58	27	77	41	72	41
Regular reception of Communion at Mass.	53	53	73	48	89	54	87	58
Praying grace at meals.	57	43	54	45	80	20	68	32
Engaging in private prayer at least once a day.	87	73	87	64	91	76	89	84
Number - - - - -	(15)	(17)	(26)	(15)	(34)	(23)	(48)	(27)

\* O.I. stands for "Organizationally involved" and represents those who have membership in at least one parish organization or society.

\*\* NOI refers to "Not Organizationally Involved."

With regard to the attendance at Mass on days of obligation, the differences between the organizationally involved and non-involved Catholics are significant. The original difference between the s.h.s. class and the other classes is considerably reduced when only the organizationally involved members of each class are compared among themselves. But with regard to Mass attendance when not obliged, the difference between the church organization members and non-members is slight in the s.h.s. class; but very significant in the other social classes. This pattern of relationship can also be

noticed with regard to the reception of Holy Communion. Membership in church organization does seem to be a powerful factor affecting the religious involvement in its cultic dimension.

The intellectual and the experiential dimensions did not show any consistent pattern of relationship to membership in church organizations, either within each social class or among the different social classes.

The creedal dimension appeared sensitive to organizational involvement, as can be gathered from Table 42. The gap between the organizationally involved and non-involved Catholics within each class and among different classes varies depending on the belief in question. With regard to the papal infallibility, for instance, the inter-class differences are slight but with the exception of the s.h.s. class, the gap is significantly wide between those who are organizationally involved and those who are not. But this is not so with regard to the belief that the Catholic Church is the only church that Christ founded. Here only the h.s.g. class reflects the difference between the organizationally involved and non-involved members. As for the indissolubility of marriage, the differences within the same class appear mainly in the s.h.s. and the c.g. classes. One can also notice a rise in the degree of belief, especially in the h.s.g., s.c. and the c.g. classes, if only the organizationally involved Catholics are taken into consideration.



TABLE 42

ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND  
THE CREDAL DIMENSION

BELIEFS	<u>S.H.S.</u>		<u>H.S.G.</u>		<u>S.C.</u>		<u>C.G.</u>	
	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI
	<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>	
The Pope is infallible when he speaks, under certain conditions on faith and morals.	80	81	92	60	83	64	81	59
Jesus founded only One Church, i.e., the Roman Catholic Church.	87	82	96	67	77	77	82	80
Christian marriage is indissoluble.	80	65	67	67	74	68	75	58

As for the consequential dimension, certain attitudes and characteristics are found to be more closely associated with the organizationally involved Catholics than with those who are not. This is especially so with regard to the interest Catholics show in their parish, their community, and the church-at-large, as can be seen in Table 43. The church organization members in the s.h.s. class appear most interested in all the three institutions.

In all the classes there is a higher proportion of the organizationally involved Catholics who would support the Pope and the bishops were they to disagree with the President's policy on the Vietnam War, than of the organizationally non-involved Catholics. It must, however, be noted that even among the organizationally involved Catholics only a small minority have been found to support its hierarchy.

TABLE 43

ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND  
THE CONSEQUENTIAL DIMENSION

OBJECTS OF "MUCH INTEREST"	<u>S.H.S.</u>		<u>H.S.G.</u>		<u>S.C.</u>		<u>C.G.</u>	
	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI	O.I.	NOI
	<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Per Cent</u>	
Parish - - - - -	100	88	88	73	87	68	92	57
Community- - - - -	100	65	88	80	86	77	86	77
Church-at-large- - - - -	100	93	84	80	85	72	89	81
Those who would support the Pope and the Bishops.	23	12	12	7	9	4	6	--
Those who would send the extra moneys in the parish to the missions or the poorer parishes.	27	31	16	21	33	9	12	28

With the exception of the s.c. class, all classes have a higher percentage of the organizationally non-involved Catholics who would rather send the extra money in the parish to the missions or to the poor parishes of the diocese than spend it on the parish itself.

Organizational involvement does not show any consistent relationship with the attitude of Catholics towards the Negroes or towards the laity's participation in the decision-making on parish matters.

Organizational involvement does appear to be related to the cultic, creedal, and consequential dimensions of religiosity. We shall probe into the meaning of this relationship in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

In the preceding chapter, the data presented gave sufficient evidence to the basic hypothesis of this study, namely, that religiosity is related to social class differently depending on the dimension of religiosity involved. Although not all indicators used to measure the different dimensions showed the same degree of relationship, positive or negative, the overall picture was clear. The cultic and the intellectual dimensions were positively related to social class, and the creedal and experiential dimensions were found to be negatively related to social class. The analysis of the consequential dimension indicated that certain characteristics and attitudes were correlated positively with social class, while certain others were correlated negatively with the same. The s.h.s. class which can be termed lower or working class in relation to the better educated classes appeared to stand apart from the rest on many items. In this chapter we shall probe into the meaning of these findings and see how they are related to the findings of the past studies and the different theories in religious sociology. We shall consider each dimension of sociology one by one.

The cultic dimension was found to be positively related to social class. A distinction needs to be made here between formal religious participation, which includes ritual and organizational involvement, and non-formal participation which covers family and private devotions. The first has been most commonly used as an indicator of religious involvement and found to

correlate positively with social class in almost all studies.

But why are the middle and the upper classes more closely associated with formal religious participation than the working lower class? Eric Goode,<sup>88</sup> who in his study made a thorough analysis of the problem, explains the higher degree of the religious involvement of the middle and upper classes, as measured by formal religious participation, as a reflection of their over-representation in all types of formal organizational participation. He contends that the formal religious participation is not a function of religiosity per se, but a function of non-religious or secular factors, which can, therefore, comfortably coexist with low personal commitment. This personal commitment, as we shall see later, is indicated by the creedal and the consequential dimensions of religiosity, the latter inasmuch as it registers the impact of man's relationship to God on his relationship to his neighbor. Our findings indicate that this impact is stronger on the lower class than on the middle and upper classes.

We can bring to bear on our findings the traditional theory of sociologists who single out religion as the prime force in the creation and maintenance of social integration. Durkheim,<sup>89</sup> for instance, believed that religion was so important to social integration that, without it, social disintegration would inevitably follow. This integrating role of religion is seen as manifold: by its belief system it gives basic support to social and individual values; through its ritual it reinforces identification with

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<sup>88</sup> Eric Goode, "Social Class and Church Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (1966), pp. 102-111.

<sup>89</sup> Durkheim, op. cit.

and commitment to these values; and finally, by its systems of rewards and punishments hereafter, it helps insure the faithful observance of the normative order.

Reasoning on similar lines, Parsons<sup>90</sup> considers religion as an aspect of culture. Religion buttresses its values, upholds its norms, and integrates the members of Society. By participating in the church ritual, one is reminded of his obligations to society; one strengthens his ties to his fellowmen. Thus, the more active a man is religiously, the more he is integrated into and committed to his society and its culture.

This is not to say, however, that religion cannot also be a divisive force. History supports such an assertion. It is also not implied here that religion is always the exclusive or the most powerful integrative institution in society. The process of secularization, the decline in the acceptance of transcendental authority, the rejection of custom and habit as the basis of social organization, the lack of consensus within the church itself, all these have weakened the influence of the church as an integrative power. The church has preached Christian values and norms too much in the abstract, leaving man--"come of age"--to work out for himself the implications of his faith for his relations with his fellowman, while political and economic institutions, the mass media, labor unions, and non-religious private organizations have exerted increasingly greater influence in the formation of society's norms and values by concrete prescriptions. However well justified the church's policy may be theologically, and whatever psychological functions this may serve in

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Talcott Parsons, "Christianity and Modern Industrial Society," in Edward Tiryakian, ed., Sociological Theory, Value and Socio-Cultural Change (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 33-70.

the lives of the individuals, the fact of the matter is that because of the lack of religiously inspired choice and the saliency of the sanctioning systems of non-religious institutions, the latter have increasingly appropriated for themselves the integrative function of the former.

But to admit the decline of the church's influence does not mean that that influence is extinct. Religion still remains a power for integration in society. In fact, recent critics have severely criticized the church for its supporting attitude towards society and its lack of leadership in fulfilling its prophetic role. The common theme of the criticism has been that the church has followed the secular society instead of guiding it and straightening its ways. Peter Berger,<sup>91</sup> for instance, feels that the church no longer generates its own values but merely supports and sanctifies the values and conditions of the general community. Thus, rather than defining and seeking out what ought to be, the church merely defends and perpetuates what is.

Gibson Winter,<sup>92</sup> in his The Suburban Captivity of the Churches, finds that contemporary churches are more concerned with social adjustment than with social justice. The function of the church, he contends, is not one of telling men what society ought to be ultimately, but how to live harmoniously within the society, as it is.

Martin Marty,<sup>93</sup> in essential agreement with the criticism of Berger and

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<sup>91</sup> Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961).

<sup>92</sup> Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York: MacMillan, 1962).

<sup>93</sup> M. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (N.Y.: Harper, 1959).

Winter, notes that, while people in America are mostly religious, religion in America is considerably Americanized. He points out that to be religious in contemporary America is synonymous with being a "good American citizen". Contemporary religiosity is characterized by respectability rather than fervor. In Marty's view, it is this harmonious collusion between "religion-in-general" and the secular society which has rendered the churches incapable of fulfilling their moral obligations.

If, therefore, religion supports society and its culture and gives it stability; if as Parsons theorizes, ritual provides a dramatic and graphic enactment of society's central values and norms; if, as Marty observes, to be religious is synonymous with being a "good American"; then one can easily understand why formal religious participation is positively related to social class. The successful in any society are the fullest participants in its culture and the most committed to its values. Having been rewarded by society, they are much more likely to support it. Formal religious participation is just one avenue for the expression of such support.

It is also to be noted that the middle and upper classes are under greater pressure to conform to the norms of a society than the working or lower class. The higher the placement of an individual in any social system, the greater the expectation that he conforms to its norms and accepts its values. And since to be religious--and this refers to the external expression of religion--is an important part of the American culture, greater conformity to the external obligations of religion is expected of the middle and the upper classes.

On the other hand, the unsuccessful and the unrewarded are the uncommitted and alienated. They naturally tend to deemphasize the values by which they are ranked low and withdraw from those institutions and activities that reassert

their lowly status. They are less likely to be involved in formal religious activities because the latter smack too much of secular values. Religion is important in their lives. In fact, it is more important in their eyes than in the eyes of those who are better-off. But it finds a different kind of expression; one that corresponds to their psychological characteristics.

Lenski, in complete agreement with Goode's explanation of the higher degree of formal religious participation of the middle and upper classes notes:

Members of the working class are much less active in formal organizations of any kind...the problem is not why American workers attend church rarely, but why they avoid formal organizational activities generally, even the church to some extent.<sup>94</sup>

The explanation of this wider problem is given in terms of certain characteristics of lower class individuals. For one thing, kinship ties run counter to their organizational involvement. They tend to stay in the security of the familiar and hesitate to expose themselves to unfamiliar surroundings.<sup>95</sup> They value highly the intimacy of the primary group and personal relationships, and avoid the strain of inhibiting hostility and suspicion inherent in meeting strangers. Interacting in terms of multiple roles is not their cup of tea.

Secondly, the working or lower class individuals are less able to view things in the long run. Their time perspective is limited. While for the middle class the future is the significant time dimension, for the working

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<sup>94</sup> Lenski, p. 44.

<sup>95</sup> Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962).



class it is the present.<sup>96</sup> Likewise, the lower class detest the complex and tedious processes involved in organizational activities. They want immediate "pay-off". Hence, unable to shape life into organic wholes and accept its unpleasant processes, they choose immediate pleasures for long-term goals.

Another characteristic that comes in the way of the formal organizational involvement of the lower class is authoritarianism, which is found to be negatively related to social class.<sup>97</sup> The less educated demand answers in black and white. They do not appreciate compromise and have no patience for democratic decision-making.

Finally, apathy, an attitude that things do not matter, has also been found to be negatively correlated with social class with regard to voting practices.<sup>98</sup>

In the present study, the poor response from the working-class parish seems to be an indication of their passive attitude towards life, be it caused by frustration, lack of hope, or a conviction that what they do and think matters little. All these socio-psychological characteristics, which are found more commonly among the lower-class than among the middle-class, seem to restrict their involvement in all formal institutions, the church being one of them.

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<sup>96</sup> Florence R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in Clyde Kluckhohn, et al., eds., Personality in Nature, Society and Cultures (New York: Knapf, Second edition, 1953), pp. 342-357.

<sup>97</sup> Samuel Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (Garden City New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 94-100.

<sup>98</sup> Seymour Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), Chapter 4.

With regard to the financial contribution to church, it was found that the lower class give most to the church proportion-wise. This was an exception to the overall positive relationship between social class and cultic dimension. One explanation of this finding may lie in the fact that, while the middle and upper classes have memberships in other non-church organizations which compete for their financial contributions, the lower class has less of such competition to face. Although their formal participation is less than that of the upper and middle classes, in terms of organizational investment it is more, proportion-wise. Their generosity may also be prompted by the deeper meaning the church has for them. It may be more relevant and functional for them than it is for the middle and upper classes. It could also be that lower class individuals do not conceive of their obligations to the church in terms of a certain percentage of income to be given, but only an absolute amount, and relative to what others generally give.

Since formal religious involvement was found to be positively related to social class, one would presume that the non-formal religious devotions and practices would be found to be negatively related. But our findings point to the contrary. Family devotions as well as private religious practices were found to be positively related to social class. One way to explain this finding would be to consider the non-formal religious practices as an overflow of formal religious involvement into the home and the private life. Parish societies, especially those whose primary goal is personal sanctification and apostolate, impose on their members certain obligations which affect the cultic dimension of religiosity also in terms of family and private devotions and practices.

As for the practice of penance specifically, one may hazard the hypothesis that those who share a greater amount of the good things of this world feel more obliged to give up, on their own, certain comforts; while those who are worse off, because of their relative deprivation, do not feel as much pressure to practice penance. The acceptance of the ordinary hardships of daily life is their penance, although they would not call it as such.

Finally, a word of explanation of the cultic dimension is called for by the negative relationship found between social class and the importance given to sacramentals. This finding is consistent with the theories of anthropologists who find that the less educated need more concrete symbols of religious involvement. The tendency to attach magical powers to symbols is more common with the less educated. They do not distinguish too clearly between the symbol and the symbolized, between the way a message is given and the message itself. They are less comfortable with abstract thinking and meditation. They need to look at the statues when they pray, touch them to make sure of their contact with the persons the statues represent. Crude and concrete symbols are effective media for their communication with supernatural powers.

The creedal dimension was found to be negatively related to social class. Certain beliefs, which in terms of their de facto acceptance can be labelled core beliefs, were unanimously accepted by all the s.h.s. class individuals, although some had minor difficulties about them. These beliefs were the existence of God, the Trinity, the divinity of Christ and the historicity of the main events of His life, Mary's perpetual virginity, life after death, and the possibility of miracles. In the middle and upper classes, there were small

proportions of individuals who either had serious doubts about these beliefs or did not accept them altogether. But there was not found any strong or consistent relationship between social class and the acceptance of the above beliefs. The percentage of "unbelievers" in any one class and on any one belief ranged from 3% to 17%.

With regard to the other beliefs, the s.h.s. class was not unanimous in their acceptance, and the percentages of those who did not accept them generally increased considerably in the other classes showing an overall negative relationship to social class. These beliefs referred to the existence of eternal heaven and hell, the intercession of saints, and "unicity" of the Catholic Church, the infallibility of the Pope, the indissolubility of marriage, and the immorality of artificial methods of birth-control.

The overall negative relationship between social class and the creedal dimension of religiosity can be explained by the fact that, the more educated one is, the more likely one is exposed to schools of thought that differ from his own. Education exposes man to new worlds, new perspectives, new methods of learning, and new criteria for the acceptance of truth. These do not always dovetail with his own religious perspective. Nay, at times they are incompatible with it. In any case, the individual who finds himself in such a situation is subject to tensions. These tensions have to be resolved. Compartmentalization of life--a common device used to avoid tensions--has its limits. The human need for consistency demands the resolution of such tensions. And it is precisely in the process of resolving these tensions, without betraying truth religious or otherwise, that man achieves maturity and experiences growth as an integrated person.

But growth is hard work. It implies continuous education, reflection, reformulation, and so on, and not all accept this challenge. One way out of the tension-situation is to give up the dissonant beliefs. Which ones will be given up depends on the type of exposure individuals have. One who is more exposed to secular, scientific reading, who moves in non-religious circles, and who has a scientific frame of mind is likely to give up the religious beliefs which conflict. If a man is more involved in and influenced by religion and more exposed to religious literature, he is likely to react the other way around. The degree to which one lives his beliefs can also be a powerful factor determining one's choice.

But even the religious literature, as it appears today in the post-Vatican spirit of freedom, bold probing, and open questioning, while helping some grow in the knowledge of their faith serves the function of threatening the faith of others in their traditional beliefs. For many Catholics the content of faith is identical with the traditional formulae. To change the latter is to distort the former. Divergence of opinions among respected theologians and bishops, between the liberal and conservative schools of thought on important matters of faith, tends to decrease the degree of commitment to religious beliefs. Since the more educated are more exposed to this kind of literature, they are more likely to become drop-outs from commitment to traditional beliefs.

Closely related to the liberal school of thought in the church is the ecumenical movement. It should be noted that here we are comparing the creedal commitment of Catholics to what it is expected to be, given the present official teaching of the church, without going into the question of what the teaching ought to be to be salient to the contemporary world.

In reference to the present teaching, one of the functions of the ecumenical movement has been the decline of belief among Catholics. The disappearance of enmities between the churches and the mutual acceptance of one another has also shaped the way to doctrinal convergence. This was clearly indicated by the relatively high percentage of Catholics who do not accept the "unicity" of the Catholic Church, the infallibility of the Pope, the indissolubility of marriage, and the immorality of artificial methods of birth control, beliefs that many Christian churches do not hold.

The less educated are not as much subject to the tensions mentioned above, as are the better educated. For one thing, they do not expose themselves to the new liberal ideas in the church as the better educated do. Secondly, they are better disposed to accept many things simply "because the church says so". And thirdly, they are not able to perceive as well the unfinished work of Vatican II, the inconsistencies that remain to be straightened out, and the irrelevancies that still obtain in the church, as the better educated are. It must be emphasized that the vast majority of Catholics in all classes score high on the creedal dimension. The comparison has been among those in different social classes who do not believe in certain teachings of the church.

The intellectual dimension of religiosity measured both in terms of the respondents' knowledge of religion and in terms of their exposure to religious information was found to be positively related to social class on the whole. Surprisingly, the s.h.s. class scored higher than the h.s.g. class on religious knowledge. It is difficult to explain this exceptional finding. The more one is educated, the more he is expected to know what his religion is about, especially when this takes place in Catholic institutions, as the case was with the majority of the respondents.

With regard to the exposure to religious information, an overall positive relationship to social class was found. This again is an indication that the more educated have a greater desire for knowledge than the less educated. Reading becomes a part of life, a routine activity.

The experiential dimension bore an overall negative relationship to social class as predicted. This was specially so in the case of miraculous experience. The less educated are more prone to attribute events they cannot explain to super-natural powers. They tend to believe in miracles more easily than the better educated.

It must be noted that with regard to the other types of experiences, the relationship to social class was ambivalent. The lower class generally had a higher percentage of those who had some type of religious experience or other, at least once in their life-time. But again this was not the case with regard to revelational and ecstatic experience.

When the sex variable was introduced into the analysis, women were found to have more frequent religious experiences than men. But this had nothing to do with social class. Religious experience seems to be more related to sex and personality characteristics than social class. This does not contradict the fact that the lower classes are more emotional in their religious expression than the middle and upper classes, and that they tend to belong to sects in which they feel at home. It only means that middle class oriented religious services can reduce the emotional involvement of the lower class and draw it closer to the middle class type of religious involvement.

The findings on the consequential dimension can be interpreted as follows. Certain characteristics which stem from Christian values and beliefs like the following--concern for other church members, desire to help them,

belief that prayer can help them, belief that prayer can help the needy, positive attitude towards change that is needed, loyalty and obedience to legitimate authority civil or religious, interest in the parish, the community, and the church-at-large--are more closely associated with the working class than any other class. The differences were slight and inconsistent between the middle and upper classes. A desire to be involved in the decision-making process in the parish and reliance on one's own moral judgment appeared more closely related to the middle and upper classes.

The lower class because it is subject to privations more than the other classes seems more sensitive to the needs of others. Obedience to and support of authority, more related to the lower class, seems to be associated with their authoritarianism discussed earlier.

There was no consistent pattern of relationship between social class and racial attitude. In all classes, it was seen ideally as highly inconsistent with basic Christian beliefs. The class between the religious norms and cultural norms was obvious, the latter over-riding the former.

As one can see, the impact of religion on individuals differs depending on where they are placed in the social system. Lower class individuals who are church-involved may be more affected by the church teachings and values than are the middle and upper classes. From the perspective of their level, they see fewer obstacles to translating their religious beliefs into concrete actions than in the case of those better educated. They have a more simplistic view of social operation. It could also be that because of their less pleasant situation in life, religion becomes more relevant and meaningful and makes them more prone to follow it faithfully in its social aspects.



This was clearly indicated by data not presented here. A higher percentage of the s.h.s. class thought that their religion was of much help to them in being personally successful, in giving strength and courage when faced with difficulties, in preserving the peace of mind, in having a positive outlook on life, and so on.

It was also found that the s.h.s. class individuals had stronger friendship ties among their own church members. While 32% of the s.h.s. class individuals had all of their five closest friends from among their church members, only about 20% of the other classes could claim such friendship ties in their church. In fact, 33% of the c.g. class counted none of their five closest friends among their church members. The h.s.g. class had 29%, the s.c. class 22%, and the s.h.s. class only 16% of its members who could not refer to any of their church members as one of their five closest friends.

All this can be boiled-down to the following interpretation: the middle and the upper classes are more religious in terms of their cultic and intellectual involvement than the working or lower class. But this is more a reflection of their class style as a whole and better education. The working or lower class are more religious in terms of their creedal and experiential involvement. While this is closely related to their socio-psychological characteristics and lack of education, it also may make their religion a greater source of guidance and strength for them than for the middle and upper classes. These seem to have recourse to other sources which compete with their religion. In short, religion is more functional to the lower-class individuals than to the middle and upper class individuals.

Our analysis of the relationship between organizational involvement and all other dimensions of religiosity indicated that organizational involvement is an important variable that on the whole is positively related to all dimensions of religiosity. It seems to identify what Fichter calls the "nuclear" Catholics. It is difficult to ascertain, however, whether it is the organizational involvement that makes Catholics more involved in religion, or whether those who are more involved tend naturally to be drawn into organizations. The dependence could also be mutual.

One characteristic that, with the exception of the s.c. class, stood out in the analysis was that the organizationally involved Catholics seemed more parochial. They seemed less concerned about the missions and the poor parishes of the diocese than the organizationally non-involved Catholics. This lack of concern for others seems to be a function of too much involvement in one's own parish. Possibly, it narrows their vision and concentrates their interest on their own church.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

When this study was planned, the writer had tried to be as comprehensive as possible in his approach to religion. The presumption was that religion was multi-dimensional and that, to get an overall picture, all the dimensions had to be explored. The consequent limitation has been that each dimension of religiosity could not be explored in all its aspects as it should have been, a task that would make a more positive contribution to religious sociology.

The findings have generally been consistent with the findings of the past studies and theories in religious sociology. As predicted and already indicated, the cultic and intellectual dimensions were found to be positively related to social class and the creedal and experiential dimensions were found to be negatively related to social class. These dimensions refer more to the style of religiosity than to the degree of religiosity itself. They reflect different religious orientations, not the depth of man's relation to God. This is beyond any empirical science; it is a secret known to God alone. But what the sociologist can find out is the relevance of religion to the individual's life, how powerful a factor it is in shaping his vision, in determining his day-to-day decisions, how much it really counts in his life. The consequential dimension sought to measure this phenomenon. Our data indicated that religion is a more meaningful and powerful factor in the life of the lower class than in the life of the middle and upper classes.

In this study we have compared the actual religious behavior of Catholics on the basis of their social class, and in terms of different dimensions of religiosity, to the standards or norms of the church as they are today. These are very clearly marked out with regard to beliefs and ritual practices. The norms themselves were never questioned. We found that deviance from these norms was related differently to social class depending on the dimension of religiosity. For instance, a greater percentage of the working class than that of the middle and upper classes did not attend church on days of obligation. But with regard to the deviance on the creedal dimension, the relationship reversed. One question that can be raised here is: how do the individuals who deviate from the norms consider themselves? The fact that they are registered members of their parishes leaves no doubt that they are not drop-outs. Using Fichter's terminology, we can call them "marginal" Catholics in their relationship to the church as an institution. But is this the way they regard themselves? Or are there some deviants who regard themselves as most authentic Catholics?

We shall consider here how we can understand the problem of deviance from religious norms in a sociological perspective and try to point out the implications of this for the Church.

Merton<sup>99</sup> distinguishes between two kinds of deviant behavior: aberrant and non-conforming. Both refer to departure from norms set by those who have power and legitimacy, but differ from each other in many respects. The non-conformer announces his dissent publicly, the aberrant seeks to avoid public scrutiny. The non-conformer challenges the legitimacy of norms; he

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<sup>99</sup> Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. 1966), pp. 808-811.

challenges their applicability to certain kinds of situations. In contrast, the aberrant acknowledges the legitimacy of the norms he violates. He may try to justify his behavior, but he does not label it virtue. The non-conformer aims to change the norms he denies in practice. In contrast, the aberrant tries primarily to escape the sanctioning force of existing norms without proposing substitutes for them. The non-conformer is acknowledged, however, reluctant, by the members of the religious system to depart from the prevailing norms for disinterested purposes. Whereas the aberrant is assumed to be deviating from the norms in order to serve his own interests. Finally, the non-conformer with his appeal to allegedly higher values may lay claim to legitimacy. His is not a private dereliction, but a thrust towards a new set of norms. Whereas the aberrant is a derelict who has nothing new to offer, nothing old to restore.

These concepts of the non-conforming and aberrant behavior seem handy to classify the deviance of marginal Catholics in the church. In the past, the non-conformer could not continue to be a member of the church. Either he repented and retained his membership, he cut himself away from the church, or he was excommunicated. The norms remained untouched, at least for the time. But, today the non-conformer himself does not want to quit the church, and the church does not want to get rid of him either. The church is trying to hold together many divergent elements which in the past were considered beyond the acceptable margin of difference.

Any institution that does not change in accordance with the demands of the non-conformer, or does not expel them, suffers the risk of weakening the solidarity and unity among its members. Common beliefs are so basic to the unity of members that differences in them are bound to result in fissures in

other aspects of the institutional life as well. The legitimacy of authority, on individual issues at least, is bound to become uncertain, and so too the norms themselves that the authority imposes on the members. Differences will generate conflict. Divisions among the members are likely to take place on the basis of differences. In the process, while the religiosity of many will be put to the test and a religious maturity and a deepening of faith will be witnessed in many, religious anomie or normlessness will be the consequence for others. Signs of this are already visible in the American Catholic Church.

Our data indicated that the authority in the church has lost its hold on Catholics considerably. The "old" loyalty to the church is gradually withering away. Asked whether they would support the Pope and the bishops of the United States, if they disagreed with the President on his policy on the Vietnam War, only a small minority in all the classes responded that they would support their hierarchy. The vast majority either chose to support the President or follow their own conscience.

The weakening of the solidarity and unity among Catholics and of the authority in the Church--both of which are crucial to the maintenance and proper functioning of the Church or for that matter of any institution--seem to be the dysfunctions of some of the seminal ideas of the Vatican Council. The following may be listed as the main ones: an explicit acceptance of the freedom of conscience in religious matters; the concepts of the church primarily as the community of the faithful and the consequent soft-pedaling of the hierarchical nature of the church and a clearer understanding of the purpose of authority as service; an awakening of the sense of personal responsibility for the church; and finally, an openness of the church to other religions and faiths, to the whole world in general, which the church

is to serve and to which it is to be a witness of God.

The social situation of the Catholics in the United States also seems to have contributed to the present situation. The Catholic Church is no more the immigrant church. The accusation of its being "papist" is outmoded. External forces like discrimination and persecution, which unwittingly contributed to the unity of Catholics and elicited from them total loyalty, has become a matter of the past. The church is no more as functional to them now, when they are as Americanized as their fellow Protestants, as it was when they were in the process of assimilation to the culture of the new country to which they had come. Amidst the culture conflicts and the anxieties and dangers to which they were subjected in the early days, the Church was a source of certainty, comfort, self-identity, and protection. Today, the signs are that Catholics are more identified with their country than with their church. The country is more functional to them than their church. As a consequence, factors that once operated to make the Catholic Church a stable and strong institution do not operate any more. They have lost their force.

The Vatican Council sowed the seeds of ideas and opened the doors for fresh air. The social situation was ripe and provided the necessary atmosphere for the growth of the seeds and the circulation of the fresh air, but ironically the church structures were not. They do not yet correspond to new rationale given them; they do not fit into the new image of the church. And naturally, they become an obstacle to growth. This brings about disintegration and disorganization.

But the present disorganization can be an initial phase of a creative reorganization that would better reflect the contemporary understanding of the church and correspond to the needs of the modern man. Dysfunctions in the

short run can be eufunctions in the long run for the church. Differences among Catholics and their lack of loyalty to the "church" may be opening the way to the unity of all Christians. Kierkegaard distinguished between Christianity and the church. Possibly, the rejuvenation of Christianity, or more specifically of Catholicism, has begun and is looking for a church that will more authentically express it and shelter and foster it. The church does not seem to have kept pace with the march of Catholicism. In the tensions in the American Church, we may be witnessing precisely this lag on the part of the church as a formal institution.

Do the different social classes among Catholics have anything to do with the restructuring of the church? On the basis of our findings and from an impressionistic view of the contemporary scene in the American Church, we can hypothesize that change in certain aspects of the church is differently related to different social classes. In other words, the change that has already taken place and will take place seems to be a response to the needs peculiar to different social classes.

We saw that the working or lower class attend church less than the middle and upper classes. Related to the reasons behind this finding already listed above is the fact that the Catholic liturgy with its formal and impersonal tone does not appeal to them. They respond better to informal and spontaneous kind of liturgy in which they can be actively involved. Only sects offer such a liturgy and thereby attract the lower classes. But today this liturgical style is becoming more prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church and is found to be appealing to the middle and upper class individuals as well.

Belief is less a problem of the working class than it is for the middle and upper classes. The latter, because of their education, need a reformula-



tion of the Catholic traditional doctrine in contemporary language. They are concerned about the pastoral dimension of the doctrine. If that is not obvious, dogmas become irrelevant to them. Tradition does not present a powerful enough basis for doctrines which they want changed in the light of the new findings of other sciences and because of the continually changing situation of man. The response to this need has been an effort to re-write theology with a pastoral orientation and in contemporary terminology.

In this sense, we can say that the different social classes have something to do with the reorganization of the church. One difference, however, is to be mentioned, namely, that while the lower classes have not been actively involved in the process of bringing about changes in the liturgy for lack of competence, the middle and upper classes have been, with regard to the birth of the "new theology" and the "new morality", at least to some degree, because of their special competence.

With regard to the above remarks, one should not imagine that they apply to a majority of Catholics. Deviants are a minority, and the non-conformers are fewer still. Any change always begins with a few. But their voices are being more and more heard and accepted in American Catholic Church. Their ideas are spreading more widely throughout the church. They have their counterparts at every level of the church, although at the higher levels of the church they are less visible. This is not to say that their deviance will be the accepted norms of the church in the near future, but only to indicate that their deviance will play a special role in the shape of the future church.

The overall consequence of this for the church, in the long run, will be that it will be more resourceful and richer, more diverse in form and expression so that it becomes relevant to different classes of people in its

different aspects. Preserving the immutable elements of her constitution and yet dressing them up to suit the contemporary milieu, she will show that tradition does not mean that the past is dead but that it is living. In the process, which may be a long one, there will be losses, but gains as well. That is just the exchange involved in any progress or growth.

Before closing this chapter, this writer would like to remind the reader of the limitations of this study. The limitations of the sample and the data have already been mentioned. To these must be added the fact that because of technical difficulties more sophisticated analysis, as originally planned, could not be made. Finally, it should be noted that this writer is a Catholic priest. In spite of his deliberate effort to be objective in his approach and view religiosity from a purely sociological point-of-view, some bias might have crept into the interpretation of the data. The reader will do well to bear this in mind especially in connection with his evaluation of the conclusions of this study.

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**APPENDIX**  
**(QUESTIONNAIRE)**

# APPENDIX

## (QUESTIONNAIRE)

### A SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, BELIEFS, AND ATTITUDES

#### I. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES:

	<u>CHECK ONE</u>	<u>CD1</u>
1. How often do you attend Mass on days of obligation?		
a. Almost on all Sundays and Holy Days	( ) 1	30
b. About twice or thrice a month	( ) 2	
c. About once a month or less	( ) 3	
d. About once or twice a year or less	( ) 4	
e. Never	( ) 5	
2. How often do you attend Mass on days other than days of obligation?		
a. Almost every day	( ) 1	31
b. Three to five days a week	( ) 2	
c. Once or twice a week	( ) 3	
d. Twice or thrice a month	( ) 4	
e. Once a month or less	( ) 5	
f. Never	( ) 6	
3. Generally, do you receive Holy Communion when you attend Mass? (Yes )1 (No )2		32
If No, please give reason:		
4. To how many church-organizations do you belong? (e.g. Holy Name Society, etc.)		33
One ( ) 1 Three ( ) 3 Five or more ( ) 5		
Two ( ) 2 Four ( ) 4 None ( ) 6		
5. In how many church-organizations are you an office-holder? (e.g. president, treasurer, etc.)		34
One ( ) 1 Three ( ) 3 Five or more ( ) 5		
Two ( ) 2 Four ( ) 4 None ( ) 6		
6. To how many non-church organizations do you belong? (e.g. fraternal, political, cultural, nationality group, club)		35
One ( ) 1 Three ( ) 3 Five or more ( ) 5		
Two ( ) 2 Four ( ) 4 None ( ) 6		
7. In how many of these non-church organizations are you an office-holder?		36
One ( ) 1 Three ( ) 3 Five or more ( ) 5		
Two ( ) 2 Four ( ) 4 None ( ) 6		

- CD1
8. About how much money, if any, did you contribute to your parish in 1967? (for self and/or family) \$ \_\_\_\_\_ 37
9. About how much money, if any, did you contribute (for self and/or family) to other religious causes (e.g. missions etc.) in 1967 in addition to what you gave to and thru your parish? \$ \_\_\_\_\_ 38
10. About how much money, if any, did you contribute to the non-church organizations in 1967? \$ \_\_\_\_\_ 39
11. Indicate if you practice any of the following devotions. If "Yes", fill-in number of times per week. 40-41  
42-43
- a. Family Rosary Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per week
- b. Grace at meals Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per week
12. If you have any other family devotions not listed above, please list in space allotted below, and fill-in number of times. 44-45
- a. \_\_\_\_\_ times per week.
13. Indicate if you engage in any of the following spiritual activities.
- a. Prayer Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 46-47
- b. Scripture reading Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 48-49
- c. Other spiritual reading Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 50-51
- d. Retreat/Recollection Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 52-53
- e. Way of Cross Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 54-55
- f. Visit Blessed Sacrament Yes ( )1 No ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ times per wk. 56-57
14. If you have any other personal devotions mention them below and fill-in number of times practiced.
- a. \_\_\_\_\_ times per week. 58-59
- b. \_\_\_\_\_ times per week. 60-61
15. a. Do you practice penance in Lent? Yes ( )1 No ( )2 62
- b. If "Yes", name penance you practice. \_\_\_\_\_ 63
- c. How many times per week \_\_\_\_\_ 64
- d. If "No", do you do anything else, instead of penance (e.g. attend Mass on weekdays, etc.) Yes ( )1 No ( )2 65
- e. If "Yes", please specify what you do \_\_\_\_\_ 66
- f. How many times per week? \_\_\_\_\_ 67



16. Which of the following Catholic periodicals you regularly read.  
Check all that apply:

American	( )68	Family Digest	( )72	N.C. Reporter	( )76
Catholic Digest	( )69	Liguorian	( )73	Sign	( )77
Commonweal	( )70	Marriage	( )74	Triumph	( )78
Critic	( )71	New World	( )75	Wanderer	( )79

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

80

17. How many religious books, if any did you read in 1967?  
(Books about church, theology, morality, etc.)

CD2

One	( )1	Five	( )5
Two	( )2	Six	( )6
Three	( )3	Seven	( )7
Four	( )4	Eight or more	( )8

30

18. If you listen to any Catholic radio programs indicate how many per month.

1-5	( )1	6-10	( )2	11-15	( )3
16-20	( )4	20 or more	( )5		

31

19. If you watch any Catholic Television programs indicate how many per month.

1-3	( )1	4-6	( )2	7-9	( )3
10-12	( )4	13 or more	( )5		

32

20. How many of your five closest friends are members of your parish?

33

One	( )1	Three	( )3	Five	( )5
Two	( )2	Four	( )4	None	( )6

21. If you use any of the following sacramentals please indicate how important you consider them in your life. Circle the number after each corresponding to the degree of important. Ex: 1 for much.

	MUCH	SOME	A LITTLE	NONE	
a. Holy water	1	2	3	4	34
b. Blessed candles	1	2	3	4	35
c. Palms	1	2	3	4	36
d. Ashes	1	2	3	4	37
e. Statues (in car)	1	2	3	4	38
f. Other (list) _____	1	2	3	4	39

22. Explain briefly what benefit, if any, you receive from the above sacramentals?

- |                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| a. Holy water      | 40 |
| b. Blessed candles | 41 |
| c. Palms           | 42 |
| d. Ashes           | 43 |
| e. Statues         | 44 |
| f. Other           | 45 |

## II. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

23. How do you feel about the following statements of belief? Circle the number corresponding to the degree of doubt you personally feel.

Ex: If you firmly believe and have no doubts at all (None)

Circle 1.

If you have some difficulties but feel you do believe, (Some) Circle 2.

If you have belief sometimes but at other times have serious doubts (Much), Circle 3.

If you do not believe, (Complete) Circle 4.

	DEGREE OF DOUBT				
	None	Some	Much	Complete	
a. God exists and in Him there are three persons.	1	2	3	4	46
b. God created this universe.	1	2	3	4	47
c. Jesus Christ is True God and True Man.	1	2	3	4	48
d. Jesus truly suffered, died, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven and will come to judge all men on the last day.	1	2	3	4	49
e. Mary, the mother of Jesus, always was a Virgin.	1	2	3	4	50
f. Saints intercede for us with God in a special way if we pray to them.	1	2	3	4	51
g. Jesus founded only one Church i.e. the Roman Catholic Church.	1	2	3	4	52
h. The Pope is infallible when he speaks, under certain conditions on faith and morals.	1	2	3	4	53

23. (Cont.)	DEGREE OF DOUBT				CD2
	None	Some	Much	Complete	
i. There is life after death.	1	2	3	4	54
j. Heaven and hell exist and will last forever.	1	2	3	4	55
k. Christian marriage is indissoluble.	1	2	3	4	56
l. It is immoral to use artificial means of birth control.	1	2	3	4	57
m. True miracles are possible today	1	2	3	4	58
24. Do you think that as a Catholic you are bound to accept and believe all the official teachings of the Church on faith and morals?					
Check one.	Yes ( )1	No ( )2			59
25. Are there any teachings of the Church, not mentioned above which you do not accept or about which you have serious doubts?					
Check one.	Yes ( )1	No ( )2			60
If "YES" mention them _____					61
26. List three religious beliefs which in your judgment have the greatest influence on your life. (E.g. that Christ died for you, or that heaven and hell exist, etc.)					
a. _____	b. _____			62	
c. _____					
27. Indicate if the following statements are True or False by circling a "T" or "F" after each. Do not consult or refer to books.					
a. Jesus truly dies every time Mass is celebrated.	T	F			63
b. Jesus is present among us in more ways than through the Eucharist.		T	F		64
c. The authors of the four Gospels are Peter, Paul, Matthew and John.		T	F		65
d. The Acts of the Apostles is an eye-witness account of Jesus's ministry as recorded by the Apostles.	T	F			66
e. God saves all those who in good conscience live a good life whatever their religion.		T	F		67
f. The Bible is against all forms of evolution.		T	F		68
g. Vatican II is the Second Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church.		T	F		69

- h. All those baptized, in some way belong to the Catholic Church, regardless of denomination. T F 70
- i. Cardinals are the successors of the Apostles. T F 71
- j. The infallibility of the Pope means he cannot make any mistake. T F 72
- k. Every Catholic is required to make his confession once a year whether he commits a serious sin or not. T F 73
- l. Only a Bishop can validly administer confirmation. T F 74

75

28. If you take into consideration all that is happening in the Church today, which statements best reflects your evaluation of the present situation? (Check One)

- a. The Church is becoming more unfaithful to Christ. ( )1 76
- b. The Church is gradually falling apart. ( )2
- c. The crisis in the Church today is a crisis of growing pains. ( )3
- d. The Church is becoming more and more faithful to Christ. ( )4
- e. I simply cannot make a judgment. ( )5
- f. Other. (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )6

29. All in All, do you think the world is making progress?  
Yes ( )1 No ( )2

77

30. How interested are you in the welfare and problems of the following. Circle one number, corresponding to degree of interest.

OBJECTS OF INTEREST	DEGREE OF INTEREST				CD3
	None	Some	Much	Little	
a. My immediate family	1	2	3	4	30
b. My other relatives	1	2	3	4	31
c. My neighbors	1	2	3	4	32
d. People at work	1	2	3	4	33
e. My parish	1	2	3	4	34
f. My community	1	2	3	4	35
g. My country	1	2	3	4	36
h. The Church-at-large	1	2	3	4	37
i. Other countries	1	2	3	4	38

- c. A conviction of being saved in Christ.  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- d. An awareness of being punished by God for certain since I committed.  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- e. A feeling of gratefulness to God for something good.  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- f. A feeling that God miraculously came to my help  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- g. A conviction I was enlightened by God on some particular issue.  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- h. A feeling of unusual joy in God.  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_
- i. Other (Specify):  
 Many times ( )1                      A few times ( )2  
 Once or twice ( )3                      Never ( )4  
 In what situation? \_\_\_\_\_

### III. RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

33. Mr. Murphy is a Catholic, not very rich but has enough of everything. He is planning to buy a new suit for Christmas, not because he needs one, but because it is Christmas. He learns that his next door neighbor—who has too small an income for the size of his family—does not go to church because he has no decent clothes to wear. The only money Mr. Murphy can spare is the amount set aside for his new suit. What do you think Mr. Murphy should do? (Check one)

31. In your judgment how much help is your religion to you now, in the following areas of your life. Circle one number after each corresponding to the degree of help.

	<u>DEGREE OF HELP</u>				Does not Apply	
	Much	Some	Little	None		
a. In helping me to be personally successfull (e.g. getting a job done, getting a promotion, etc)	1	2	3	4	5	39
b. In broadening my understanding of the meaning of life (e.g. "I have a special purpose in God's plan")	1	2	3	4	5	40
c. In making right decisions in my daily life (e.g. choice of job, where to reside, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	41
d. In giving me strength and courage when faced with difficulties (e.g. sorrow, failure, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	42
e. In preserving my peace of mind (e.g. when I am mixed-up, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	43
f. In fulfilling my civic duties conscientiously (e.g. paying taxes, voting, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	44
g. In using my talent, money, and time responsibly.	1	2	3	4	5	45
h. In having a positive and optimistic outlook on life.	1	2	3	4	5	46

32. A number of religious experiences have been listed below. They do not refer to mere knowledge or belief but deep feelings and perceptions. Indicate how often you have had them, mention also the situation in which you had them (e.g. during Mass, private prayer, in a predicament, etc.)

a. An awareness of God's presence and of my nothingness before Him:	Many times ( )1	A few times ( )2	47
	Once or twice ( )3	Never ( )4	
	In what situation? _____		48
b. A feeling of intimacy with God and of faith and trust in Him:	Many times ( )1	A few times ( )2	49
	Once or twice ( )3	Never ( )4	
	In what situation? _____		50

- a. Just ignore him. ( )1
- b. Pray for him. ( )2 30
- c. Give him half of the money to buy a cheaper suit. ( )3
- d. Give him all the money to buy a better suit. ( )4
- e. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )5
34. What would you do if you were in Mr. Murphy's situation? Check one from the above list, below:
- a( )1 b( )2 c( )3 d( )4 e( )5 31
35. Imagine that your parish is not in debt and that your Pastor announces on the Sunday after Christmas that your parish has \$25,000. left from its annual budget, and proposes the following ways of spending it. How would you vote?
- a. To air-condition the Church ( )1 32
- b. Send the whole amount to missions( )2
- c. Donate the whole amount to the poor parishes of the diocese. ( )3
- d. Give half to missions or the poor parishes, spend the rest to improve their church. ( )4
- e. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )5
36. In the preceding five which one do you think your Pastor would expect you to vote for? Check from the above list, below.
- a( )1 b( )2 c( )3 d( )4 e( )5 33
37. A suggestion has been made that every diocese should donate at least 5% of the money it spends on new projects to the missions. Do you accept the suggestion? Yes ( )1 No ( )2 34
38. Do you think your Bishop would accept the above suggestion? (cf.37) Yes ( )1 No ( )2 35
39. Do you think the United States should financially aid the developing countries, i.e., Brazil, etc. Yes ( )1 No ( )2 36

40. If "Yes", what should be the main reason for such aid?
- a. To gain more influence for the U.S.A. in the world. ( )1 37
  - b. To fight Communism and protect this Country. ( )2
  - c. To safeguard the freedom of developing countries. ( )3
  - d. To fulfill our duty as a rich christian Nation. ( )4
  - e. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )5
41. Imagine you are going to church for Mass on Sunday. You see a stranger collapse on the sidewalk. Suppose, for lack of time, you have to choose between helping him and going to church, what would you do?
- a. Help him ( )1
  - b. Go to church ( )2 38
42. What do you think God would want you to do in the preceding situation?
- a. Help him ( )1
  - b. Go to church ( )2 39
43. Suppose a Negro family of your own social status moves into your block, what will be your reaction?
- a. I will be happy to have them and let them know this. ( )1 40
  - b. I won't mind having them but I will not have anything to do with them. ( )2
  - c. I will try to get them out of there. ( )3
  - d. Frankly, I don't know what I will do. ( )4
  - e. Other. (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )5
44. Which of the above do you think best reflects the christian attitude? Check one from the above list, below.
- a( )1    b( )2    c( )3    d( )4    e( )5 41
45. Read the following three statements and check the one most acceptable to you:
- a. In the education of children there should be greater emphasis on obedience than on personal responsibility. ( )1 42
  - b. In education of children there should be greater emphasis on personal responsibility than on obedience. ( )2
  - c. There should be equal emphasis on both. ( )3



46. There is a lot of talk about dialog (exchange of ideas) with the Protestants and non-Christians in the Church today. Which of the following statements reflects your thinking on this?

- a. Catholics have much to learn from Protestants and non-christians. ( )1
- b. Protestants and non-christians have much to learn from Catholics. ( )2
- c. Both Catholics and non-Catholics have a lot to learn from one another. ( )3
- d. Dialog is useful only to get along with one another in peace. ( )4
- e. This "dialog business" is a waste of time and energy ( )5
- f. Other. (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ ( )6

43

47. Do you think that the Church should not hesitate to bring about changes in the liturgy, etc. when she feels these changes are necessary for the fulfillment of her mission, even though some people get upset about them. Yes ( )1 No( )2

44

48. Imagine your parish is going to build a school. Which of the following ways do you prefer for deciding how the school should be built. (Check one).

- a. Let the Pastor decide. ( )1
- b. Let the Pastor, Assistants and architect decide. ( )2
- c. Let a committee of experts, elected from the parish, together with the Pastor, etc. decide. ( )3
- d. Let the parishioners be informed of various alternatives by the committee and let the parishioners decide. ( )4
- e. Let the parishioners voice their opinion, but let the Pastor make the final decision. ( )5

45

49. A. The war in Vietnam is a much discussed question today. Until recently No. Vietnam was being heavily bombed by the U.S.A. What was your position then?

- a. I supported the President's policy. ( )1
- b. I was in favor of de-escalation. ( )2
- c. I was in favor of further escalation of the war. ( )3

46

B. While the bombing of No. Vietnam was going on, suppose the Pope and Bishops of the U.S. had come out with a statement that the war in Vietnam was "immoral" (i.e. it did more harm than good for all parties involved), and had requested the President to reduce the bombing to a minimum. Which of the following would have been your course of action? (Check one)

- a. I would have supported the Pope and Bishops against the President. ( )1 47
- b. I would have supported the President against the Pope and U.S. Bishops. ( )2
- c. I would have made my own judgment on the basis of information available and followed my conscience. ( )3

C. Please give reason for your above position in section B above. 48

D. What is your position now? (Check one)

- a. I support the change in the President's policy. ( )1 49
- b. I think the President should not have changed his policy. ( )2
- c. I am in favor of further escalation of the war. ( )3

#### IV. BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT

Would you like to ask for some personal data about yourself. CD  
(Check one after each)

50. Name of your community:

Chatham ( )1	Sauganash ( )3	Oak Lawn ( )5	5
Lawndale ( )2	South Chicago ( )4	Wilmette ( )	

51. Number of years you have lived in the present parish:

One yr. or less ( )1	Four years ( )4	Seven years ( )7	
Two years ( )2	Five years ( )5	8-9 years ( )8	6
Three years ( )3	Six years ( )6	10 yrs./more ( )9	

52. SEX: Male ( )1 Female ( )2 7

53. Native born ( )1 Foreign born ( )2 8

54. If Native born, which generation:

First ( )1	Second ( )2	Third ( )3	Fourth ( )4	9
Fifth ( )5				

55. If Native born: your ethnic background \_\_\_\_\_ CD 10
56. If Foreign born, the country of origin: \_\_\_\_\_ 11
57. If foreign born, how many years have you been in the U.S.A.?  
 Less than 5 yrs. ( )1 11-15 yrs. ( )3 12  
 6-10 yrs. ( )2 16-20 yrs. ( )4 20 or more yrs ( )5
58. Marital status:  
 Single ( )1 Widowed ( )4 Divorced &  
 Married ( )2 Widowed & remarried ( )5 remarried ( )7 13  
 Separated ( )3 Divorced ( )6
59. How do you think of yourself primarily? (Political Party) 14  
 a. A liberal Democrat ( )1 e. A liberal Republican ( )5  
 b. A moderate Democrat ( )2 f. A moderate Republican ( )6  
 c. A conservative Democrat ( )3 g. A conservative Republican ( )7  
 d. An Independent ( )4 h. Other: \_\_\_\_\_ ( )8
60. Under which of the following classes do you think you should be classified?  
 a. Working class ( )1 c. Upper class ( )3 15  
 b. Middle class ( )2 d. Lower class ( )4
61. Your age at your last birthday: 24 yrs & under ( )1 16  
 25-29 years ( )2  
 30-34 years ( )3  
 35-39 years ( )4  
 40-44 years ( )1 60-64 years ( )1 17-18  
 45-49 years ( )2 CD 65-69 years ( )2 CD  
 50-54 years ( )3 17 70-74 years ( )3 18  
 55-59 years ( )4 75 yrs/over ( )4
62. Your education: Check only highest grade completed.  
 A: Years: Catholic Years: Non-  
 Institution Catholic  
 a. Some grade school ( )1 \_\_\_\_\_ 19  
 b. Graduated grade school ( )2 \_\_\_\_\_ 20  
 c. Some high school ( )3 \_\_\_\_\_ 21  
 d. Graduated high school ( )4 \_\_\_\_\_ 22  
 e. Some college ( )5 \_\_\_\_\_ 23  
 f. Graduated college ( )6 \_\_\_\_\_ 24  
 g. Graduate or professional school after college ( )7 \_\_\_\_\_ 25

62. (Cont.)

B: Now fill in the number of years spent at each level in a Catholic and/or non-Catholic institution above.

63. Your occupation: Please be specific. Give (a) Title of description of work you do or position you hold. (b) Type of organization (e.g., tool-maker, truck manufacturing company.)

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64. Please check the income category (before taxes) of the chief bread winner of the family in 1967.

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Below \$2,000. ( )1 | f. \$10,000-11,999. ( )6 |
| b. \$2,000-3,999. ( )2 | g. \$12,000-14,999. ( )7 |
| c. \$4,000-5,999. ( )3 | h. \$15,000-19,999. ( )8 |
| d. \$6,000-7,999. ( )4 | i. \$20,000-24,999. ( )9 |
| e. \$8,000-9,999. ( )5 | j. \$25,000-over ( )10   |

27

65. Your own annual income (before taxes) in 1967 in exact figures (whether or not you are chief bread-winner):\$ \_\_\_\_\_

28

66. Your position in the family:

- |                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. Husband (and father) ( )1 | e. Dependent Son ( )5     |
| b. Wife (and mother) ( )2    | f. Dependent Daughter( )6 |
| c. Independent Son ( )3      | g. Other:                 |
| d. Independent Daughter ( )4 | (Specify) _____( )7       |

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

APPROVAL SHEET

The Thesis submitted by Father Vincent M. Concessao has been read and approved by the members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

June 30, 1969  
Date

Ross P. Scherf  
Signature of Adviser